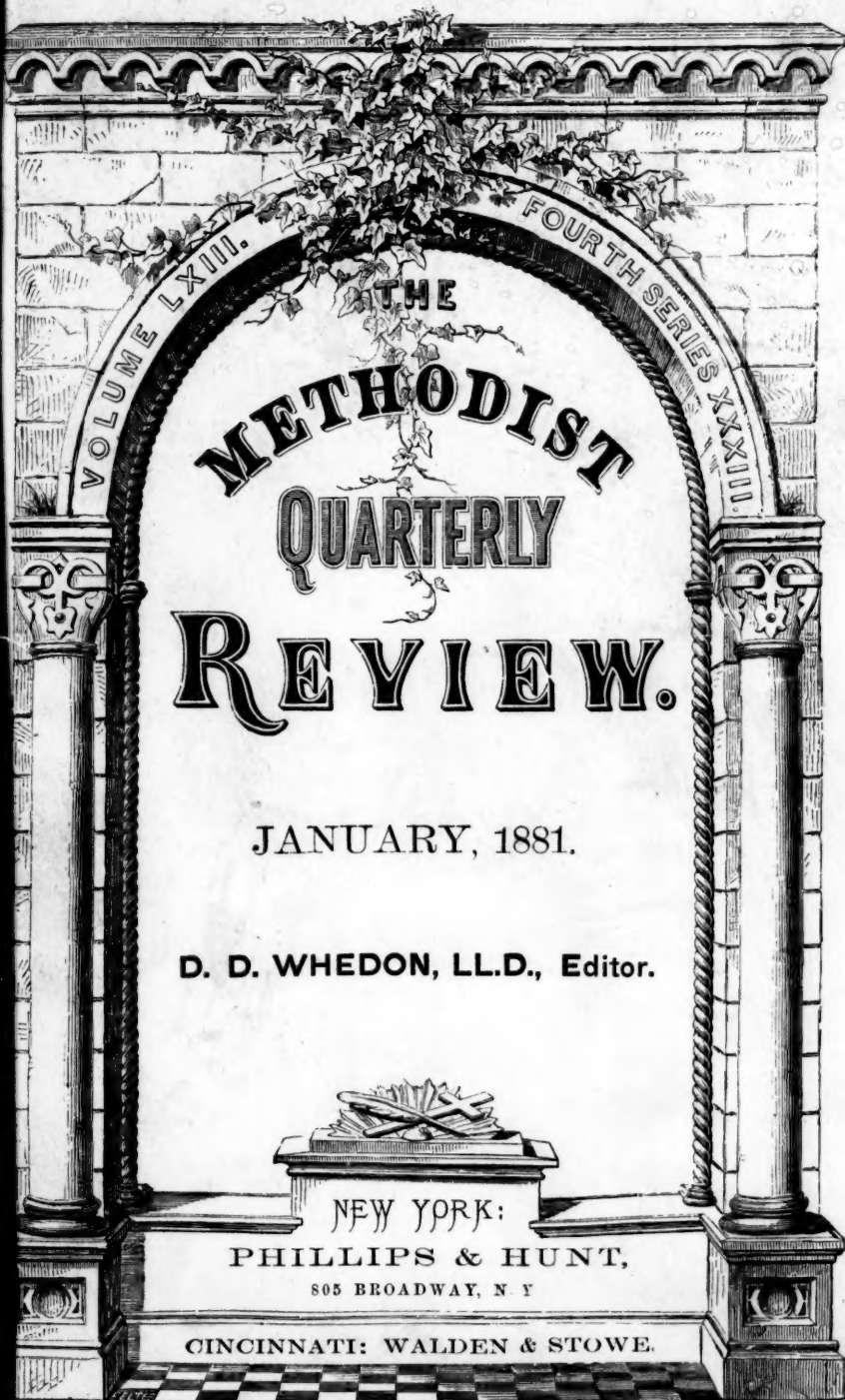


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# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1881.

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## ART. I.—LIFE AND WORKS OF HAMLINE.

*Life and Letters of Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D.*, late One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By WALTER C. PALMER, M.D. With Introductory Letters by Bishops MORRIS, JAMES, and THOMSON. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

*Biography of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D.* By REV. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

*Works of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D.* Edited by REV. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. Vol. I, Sermons. Vol. II, Miscellaneous Writings. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

THE Christian Church is growing richer in biography from age to age. It is a principle of the divine economy that "the righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance." While this is primarily true of the remembrance which God cherishes of his own, however little they may be thought of by an unsympathetic world, yet it also has its application to the Church, which delights to preserve the memory of her holy men and women.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has always manifested a commendable interest in properly written memoirs of her deceased Bishops. But, unfortunately, in several instances there has been either a lack of data attainable for the production of such memoirs, or a lack of interest or industry on the part of surviving friends in preparing them.

Bishop Asbury, following the example of Mr. Wesley, kept journals of his travels and his ministerial work. Those journals have required but small additions on the part of his biogra-

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phers and historians to enable the press to perpetuate his life. Bishop Coke's life, based also upon his journals and letters, was well written by his friend Samuel Drew. Bishops Whatcoat, M'Kendree and George left such meager materials behind them that attempting biographers have only been able to produce sketches of their lives a little more detailed than are allotted to all deceased ministers in the Minutes of their Conferences.

The life of Bishop Roberts was well written by his friend Dr. Elliott. That of Bishop Emory was published in connection with his works by his son Dr. Robert Emory. Ample justice was done to the life of Bishop Hedding by Dr. D. W. Clark, to whom, in turn, a similar service was rendered by Dr. Daniel Curry. Bishop Hamline has had two excellent biographers, while of eight other of our deceased Bishops no adequate memoirs have as yet been published.

The life of Bishop Hamline, when surveyed as a whole, is found to have extended into its sixty-eighth year. It comprised five distinct periods. The first was that of youth and secular employment, extending to the thirty-first year of his age. The second was that of his preparatory and itinerant ministry, covering eight years. The third was that of his official editorship, covering eight years. The fourth was that of his episcopacy, also covering eight years. The fifth was that of his retirement from public life and of his protracted suffering as an invalid during thirteen years. It seems proper now to group together the principal facts of his life in the order named, coupled with an estimate of his character and influence as they will descend to future generations.

#### YOUTH.

LEONIDAS LENT HAMLINE was born in Burlington, Connecticut, in 1799. His parents, who were of Huguenot ancestry, were Congregationalists. His father, although a farmer, was a practical school-teacher. The education of the son, both religious and secular, was strict and thorough. In the former he was trained to rigid puritanic habits and the strictest views of Hopkinsian Calvinism. In the latter, by common-school instruction and a course at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., he was so grounded in the elements of learning that he

began his own career as a school-teacher at the early age of seventeen. His youth was characterized by precocity in study and a deep religious reverence, both of which encouraged his father to educate him for the ministry. Of his early religious life he himself wrote to his son in 1847 :

I was at seventeen under deep religious impressions, but my Calvinistic parents could not tell me how to be saved. I became stupid, and then they thought me converted; and for three or four years I thought so too, and studied Greek and Latin, expecting to be a minister in the Congregational Church, and prayed and talked in meetings; and some were convicted and converted under my little talks. But I gradually became convinced that I was not converted, and finally gave it all up, and went to studying law.

In the above extract we have his own estimate of his early religious experience. Yet from what has been recorded by others of the fruits of his influence at that period we might incline to a more favorable judgment. Dr. Hibbard says :

When about seventeen he engaged in teaching portions of the year to enable him to pursue his education. At that time he introduced religious services in his school. The awakening that followed was so strong that at times the school exercises were suspended. Many were hopefully converted. A Christian lady, living in East Barrington, Massachusetts, informed Mrs. Hamline that there were elders in the Church in that village, then living, who had been converted through Mr. Hamline's labors, when he was a young man of seventeen or eighteen, teaching classical school, with anticipations of the ministry.

Not long after these events he was overtaken by a serious calamity in the deterioration of his health, which, from hard study and a continued strain upon his nervous system, sympathetically affected his brain. As concerning the period of his life which followed, certain unfounded rumors have been circulated and unjust inferences drawn, it is well to consult Dr. Hibbard's careful and authentic statement of it :

Mr. Hamline's convalescence was slow. He continued his studies as he was able. But in the lapse of time he became dissatisfied with the evidences of his conversion, and changed his plan of life. He says of himself, "I gradually became convinced that I was not converted, and finally gave it all up and went to studying law."

On his return from the South, or soon after, he went West,

and in 1824 we find him at Zanesville, Ohio. Here he became acquainted with Miss Eliza Price, an amiable, well-reported, and carefully educated young lady, an only child and an heiress. To Miss Eliza Mr. Hamline was married. They lived together in much affection and harmony in the elegant paternal mansion, with an easy competence, but now without God. In 1827 he took license as a lawyer, at Lancaster, Ohio, and returned to his profession. Four children were given them, two sons and two daughters, of whom three died in infancy.

#### SECULAR LIFE AND CONVERSION.

During the years devoted by Mr. Hamline to the professional study and practice of law he lived a life of religious indifference, and at the same time of irreligious unrest. His love of metaphysics made him an easy disciple and admirer of Edwards, while his educational prejudice against, not to say his contempt for, the Methodists left him no doctrinal antidote to his pernicious speculations. But he was a child of Providence, and wonderful were the steps by which he was brought to Christ, in the personal assurance of his complete salvation.

In the fall or early winter of 1827 Mr. and Mrs. Hamline came to Perrysburgh, Cattaraugus County, New York. It appears that Mr. Hamline was called there on legal business which detained him for a length of time.

While in that vicinity he became the subject of a new and deep religious awakening. A full account of that awakening, and of the steps and processes by which he was gradually led through great spiritual darkness into glorious light, was prepared by his own hand and published in the "Ladies' Repository" of 1843, under the title of "The Metaphysician." The narrative was introduced as written by the editor, but without any suggestion as to who the subject might be further than might have been indicated by the initial L. Both biographers have published the narrative in full, substituting the name Hamline, or the initial H., where the L. was originally used.

Rarely has there ever been written a more graphic account of the struggles of a strong and intelligent mind while passing through the great change between a condition of sinful alienation and a state of gracious acceptance with God. It deserves, in several respects, to be compared with the Confessions of

Augustine. Concerning the latter, it has been said that "they are the delineation of an extraordinary intellect, and the issue of a remarkable experience." An intelligent writer has enumerated four distinguishing characteristics of Augustine's Confessions:

1. The singular mingling of metaphysical and devotional elements.

2. The union of the most minute and exhaustive detail of sin with the most intense and spiritual abhorrence of it.

3. They palpitate with a positive love of God and goodness.

4. The insight which they afford into the origin and progress of Christian experience.

All these characteristics may be predicated of Hamline's confessions, with the added statement that they are written in a more direct style and with a much clearer appreciation of evangelical truth.

The parallel between the two men, however, may be continued in the following facts. They were both converted at about the same period in life; Hamline in his thirty-first year, Augustine in his thirty-second. Both became Bishops. Both were diligent writers. Both cherished throughout life intense views of the malignity of sin, antagonized by overwhelming views of the power of divine grace to save the believing soul. It would not be difficult to extend this comparison much further with equal credit to both the North African and the North American Bishop, who, doubtless, ere this have happily fraternized in the presence of Him to whom their souls aspired with an absorbing affection.

When saving faith sprang up in the heart of L. L. Hamline his whole life was changed. Immediately he counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ. Nor did he hesitate to lay upon the altar of God the pride of social position, home, wealth, worldly honor, and ambition.

At first he did not seem to think of becoming a minister of the Gospel, but out of the fullness of his heart his mouth began to speak, testifying of the grace of God wrought out in his own deliverance from the powers of sin and unbelief. Fruits followed. "People were convicted and converted." Although a layman, and a probationer in the Church, he was not idle as a Christian. He engaged earnestly in work for God



as he found opportunity, whether in the ordinary means of grace or at camp-meetings and protracted meetings. He still, however, continued the practice of his profession as a lawyer until

One day, while conducting a suit before a single justice, an overwhelming conviction fell upon him that he must quit the law and preach the Gospel. This he endeavored to overcome or dismiss for the time, but it returned again and again, and so embarrassed him that he was forced to shorten his argument and close his speech. Here ended his legal pleading, thenceforward to turn to the sublimer calling of "beseeching men to be reconciled to God." He received license to exhort about six months after his conversion, and license to preach at the expiration of his first year of membership, November, 1829. The balance of that year, till September, 1830, he spent in varied labor as a licentiate, wherever a providential door was opened.

#### EARLY MINISTRY.

L. L. Hamline's first and second appointments as a preacher were made by presiding elders, who engaged him to supply vacancies on circuits in Eastern Ohio. These engagements took him far away from his pleasant home to portions of the country recently settled. In passing from place to place he was called to sleep often in cabins, where, in the bleak winter night, he had only to draw aside the hanging blanket in order to thrust his hand between the logs into the storm without. His meager income, after meeting his necessary traveling expenses, he gave to his poorer brethren. His easy pleasure-rides he exchanged for long, tedious, and often perilous traveling, fording streams, threading forests which sometimes were not even blazed.

But of these things he took little account so long as the work of the Lord prospered. He was as yet unfamiliar with Methodist government and usage, but his wonderful experience in coming to Christ, his powerful conviction and conversion, his naturally incisive mind, now baptized with the Holy Spirit, made all his former studies and knowledge of men available to the pulpit, while in social life he was every-where at ease.

At one of the appointments on his first circuit, while preaching with great power, his audience suddenly burst into tears, rising simultaneously to their feet. A scene of power and mercy ensued. Among the converts of the day was one who became a preacher of the Gospel.

His preaching at a camp-meeting held on the district was attended with extraordinary power. Following the meeting one hundred and thirty-eight probationers were added to the Church.

In September, 1832, he joined the Ohio Conference, and was appointed as the third or second-junior preacher on the Granville Circuit. At the Conference of 1833 he was appointed to the Athens Circuit, with the Rev. Jacob Young for his senior colleague. At the Conference of 1834 he was ordained, and appointed to Wesley Chapel, Cincinnati, as a junior preacher. Not long after his removal to that appointment he was called to mourn the loss of his wife, who had for some time been a suffering invalid. His appointment to Cincinnati was renewed in August, 1835. But in June following he was transferred to Columbus to fill an important pulpit that had unexpectedly become vacant. He then, for the first time, became a preacher in charge, or a pastor in the fullest sense; but that office he only held for three months.

#### EDITORIAL LIFE.

By a singular train of providences Methodism has been led from its earliest organization to an active use of the press as an auxiliary of Church work. Mr. Wesley not only published books and tracts in great numbers, but a monthly magazine. His example was followed in America. But here the magazine rose in due time to become a Quarterly Review, while weekly papers became the more popular medium for diffusing religious truth and intelligence.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has not left this great interest to irresponsible parties, but from its beginning has assumed and maintained control of such publications, whether in book or periodical form, as it deemed essential to its work. Hence from time to time it has appointed leading ministers to the control of its official press.

The publication of the "Western Christian Advocate" was commenced at Cincinnati in 1834, under the editorship of Rev. Thomas A. Morris. When, in 1836, Mr. Morris was elected Bishop, Rev. Charles Elliott became his successor, with Rev. William Phillips as assistant editor. Mr. Phillips having died soon after, it devolved on the Ohio Conference to appoint

his successor. Rev. L. L. Hamline was designated for the office, and returned to Cincinnati as an editor in the autumn of 1836.

The withdrawal of such a man from the pastoral work at a time when he had become so peculiarly qualified for it was not only a great trial to the Church he was serving at Columbus, but would have been quite unjustifiable had there not been very broad and important interests to subserve by the change. Mr. Hamline seems to have been passive in the hands of the Church authorities, and not to have felt at liberty to decline the appointment, as he doubtless would have done had it required him to desist from preaching the Gospel. In point of fact, his sphere as a preacher was actually enlarged by the change, although his duties in that line could only be performed by greater effort.

In order to estimate rightly the character and extent of the work that was now put upon the subject of our notice, it is necessary to consider what religious journalism in this country was in its first stage. The "Christian Advocate" of New York was only ten years old. The "Western Christian Advocate" was in its third year, and, being a pioneer in the West, was without a corps of trained contributors. Nevertheless, it was launched during a period of exciting controversy respecting slavery and abolition, while the varied interests of aggressive evangelism, of Christian education, of temperance, and of kindred causes, were to be promoted through its agency. Such circumstances demanded great wisdom as well as labor at the hands of its editors. But Elliott and Hamline proved themselves to be eminently qualified for the position and its responsibilities. They both united unusual capacity with untiring industry, and co-operated with each other in the most perfect harmony. Both regarded the paper as an agency in diffusing the Gospel and edifying the Church; but as their editorial writing and supervision were limited to week-days, they devoted their Sabbaths to pulpit services in the city and the region round. Indeed, the ministerial services of Mr. Hamline were in such demand and so willingly rendered that he was often absent for considerable periods, preaching daily at camp-meetings, in revival meetings in the churches, and in missionary efforts in destitute places. Dr. Hibbard's biography gives most interesting accounts of the extraordinary spiritual power at

tending his ministrations during this period, showing that with his editorial life was associated a career of wide, varied, and wonderful evangelism. After stating that Mr. Hamline never lost sight of the great object of that ministry to which he held every other call in subservience, Dr. Hibbard adds :

It was computed that nearly one hundred persons dated their awakening from the sermons of Mr. Hamline on a single Sabbath in Lebanon, Ohio. Indeed, his labors were every-where attended with visible results. His sermons were marked for their system, their force of argument, pathetic appeals and vivid description, and, above all, by the power of the Holy Spirit. His manner was earnest, often impassioned, always dignified and serious, his imagination lively and chaste, combining beauty and strength with a voice of richness and melody, and his appeals often seemed irresistible. The moment he opened his lips the people intuitively felt they were in the presence of a great mind and a man of God. From every quarter came calls for help in revival labors and for extra occasions, to which he gave a joyful response to the utmost limit of his time and strength. Every-where his labors were owned of God.

A single instance, selected from several, is subjoined :

At a camp-meeting, one evening, during a heavy rain, Mr. Hamline repaired to the church, on the edge of the ground, where he found a company of eight or ten men, who had retreated there to escape the rain, and were lying on the benches. He immediately began to exhort them with affectionate earnestness and power. The Spirit of God fell on the auditors, who yielded and sought the Lord. Before morning they were all happily converted to God.

At the period under review his mind was greatly drawn toward foreign mission work, particularly in France, the land of his ancestors. The subject of a mission from our Church to that country was then under official consideration, and, had it been decided on, there is little doubt that Mr. Hamline would have been appointed to it. But, although not called to enter a foreign field, his zeal in behalf of missions developed itself in a most practical and influential form in connection with the establishment of a German religious press in Cincinnati, and in the encouragement of evangelical effort in behalf of Germans, both in America and Europe. On this point Dr. Nast, the apostle of German Methodism, has spoken emphatically :

In private and in public I have often tried to express my gratitude for what, under God, we Germans owe to that great man of

God. Bishop Hamline, in the darkest days of my penitential struggle, when I was on the point to give it up, presented the Gospel to me with the power of a new charm and inspired me again with hope. During the first two years of my ministry, when I labored as a missionary in Cincinnati, I had the privilege of being every day in his company, and from him I learned, more than from any other source, how to attack successfully the skepticism of my countrymen. He was my pattern in preaching and in writing.

As to the mission of our Church among the Germans, which God has crowned with such glorious results, I am confident it would never have been taken hold of in earnest had it not been for the soul-stirring and convincing appeals of Bishop Hamline to the Church. It was his eloquent advocacy to which the "Apolo-gist" chiefly owes its existence; but he not only induced others to give, but, with his well-known liberality, he contributed out of his own ample means for the support of the German Mission work, and the building of a number of German churches.

No part of the Church was more deeply afflicted than the German ministry when Bishop Hamline felt compelled, on account of his physical debility and suffering, to resign his episcopal office. The Germans felt as though they had lost a father indeed. O, how deeply engraven are his episcopal addresses on the hearts of the older German preachers!

Mr. Hamline soon entered upon a new and more congenial sphere of editorial life. By the General Conference of 1840 he was again appointed assistant editor of the "Western Christian Advocate," and prospective editor of the "Ladies' Repository." Consequently, on him devolved the task of founding a monthly magazine under that title, which, notwithstanding the embarrassments incident to a new literary enterprise in the West, soon rose to an important position in the literature of the Church. Dr. Hibbard very properly speaks of the "Repository" as giving a wider scope to Mr. Hamline's literary and classical taste, as well as to the outreaching of his spiritual life. Of his style and skill as an editor of such a magazine, the following statement is justly made:

He possessed the true enthusiasm which warmed and animated whatever theme he took. In his hands common events assumed a new interest, not only by the illusive dress of fiction, but by the discovery of new and higher relations, while the crowning charm of his writings proceeds from the high moral end for which he wrote, and the inbreathed and living desire to save souls. Preaching or writing, he had this one object in view and uppermost. This was no detriment to literary taste or merit, but

gave to both a more exalted standard and refinement. Nor was his skill in engaging others to work inferior to his own ability to execute.

It was during his editorship of the "Repository" that Mr. Hamline entered upon that higher phase of religious experience known among Methodists as the blessing of perfect love or entire sanctification. A chapter is given to the subject by each of his biographers, inclusive of many quotations from his own pen. The details are full of interest and instruction to devout minds. The results are briefly set forth in the following quotations:

A new life now dawned upon him. Not one without clouds, temptations, and sore wrestlings, but one in which over all these he was to have victory. He could now say, as never before :

"Now I have found the ground wherein  
Sure my soul's anchor may remain."

With a body afflicted little less than that of Paul with his "thorn in the flesh," with a nervous structure which even in health would be subject to great alternations, and with a life of intense labor, and the antagonisms of this "evil world," a perpetually "quiet sea" was not to be expected. His exquisite sensitiveness often occasioned him sorrow and temptation where a common mind would experience no embarrassment.

The great baptism amazingly quickened his love for souls and his ardent zeal to save them. In his diary for November 26, 1842, he says : "I feel as though I had come to the verge of heaven. I have had sad dreams, but am happy now, filled with weeping and praise. I feel like one who has been wrecked at sea and has got into the long-boat. Persons are sinking all around, and he clutches them by the hair. So I see souls are sinking. I feel in a hurry to save them. And it matters not what I eat or what I wear, or who are my companions, for when I have rowed a few miles I shall get home and shall find all my friends there."

He says, somewhat later :

"Within less than three months I have enjoyed the privileges of attending some eight or ten protracted meetings, at each of which there was a glorious display of God's saving power." Does the reader ask how he could, under such circumstances, not only give satisfaction, but win reputation, as the editor of the "Ladies' Repository?" He answers the question in part: "My labors are heavy. I take my papers often into the country, and write *between preachings*." He was a ready and rapid writer. When his mind was roused and concentrated, and that was as often as



duty demanded and health permitted, after the first dictation little was left for critical review.

In the midst of labors beyond his strength, and which he afterward admits laid the foundation of his premature infirmities and his retirement from public life, with a popularity which exposed him to envious criticism, and with the two mightiest social forces in his hands—the pulpit and the press—one might well fear for his humility. But to him selfish ambition was unknown. For himself he sought nothing, desired nothing; for Christ, every thing. His deadness to the world and his self-abnegation were almost startling, even to his friends. His views of natural depravity and the malignity of sin in the light of the divine law left him in utter amazement at that divine love which had borne with his life of unbelief so long, and had multiplied such boundless “grace upon grace” in his redemption.

As a pendant to the foregoing remarks from Dr. Hibbard, we quote a few sentences from a letter written by Dr. Elliott after Bishop Hamline’s death, in 1865. This extract will show that the peculiar experience of Mr. Hamline in 1842 was not temporary, but lasting, continuing to the very end of his life :

My pen is wholly incompetent to draw out in its full extent an adequate portrait of his high and holy character, whether it regards his natural talents or his extensive attainments, but especially the sanctity and purity of his religious life in theory, experience, and practical utility. He enjoyed, to the full extent, entire sanctification in all its experience and practical exemplifications. He was thoroughly scriptural and Wesleyan in all respects on this fundamental point. So clearly did he expound it to others in conversation, preaching, and writing, that many were led to experience it through his teaching and prayers.

While he was thoroughly Wesleyan and scriptural in this way of holiness, he was instrumental in teaching its great truths to ministers of other Churches. Many of them, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Episcopalians, were brought to the full enjoyment of this privilege of the sons of God through his instructions and prayers.

During the year 1843, and the early months of 1844, Mr. Hamline continued both his editorial and evangelical labors with quickened zeal, though with declining health. Several times he was laid aside by severe illness, but no sooner did partial recovery allow than he was again at his post.

#### ELECTION TO THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE.

The election of L. L. Hamline to the office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church was a spontaneous tribute to



superior ability and obvious adaptation to the exigencies of the Church in a critical period of its history. It had not been pre-arranged by his friends, nor anticipated by himself. It was not the result of wire-pulling, canvassing, or bargaining. It was, in fact, a result born of an occasion and produced in the only manner that could have been in harmony with his sense of honor and of right.

Up to the last moment his physical ability to attend the General Conference of 1844 had been questioned by his physicians. He ventured to leave home in hope that his health would be improved by the journey to New York. The result in that respect justified his hopes. He was, therefore, enabled to take his seat in the body to which he had been elected as a delegate in September preceding.

Although deeply interested in the proceedings, he for a considerable time modestly shrank from any prominent participation in them, purposing to do his duty by his votes. But after having witnessed for days the struggle between the opponents of slavery and their antagonists, and having seen the growing mystification in which the special issue in the case of the slave-holding Bishop Andrew was becoming involved, he decided to take a part in the discussion.

Dr. (now Bishop) J. T. Peck has described the scene :

In the midst of the great debate he rose and addressed the chair. He was promptly recognized, and from the first sentence it was evident that the question, so involved and far-reaching, was in the hands of a master. His positions were logically perfect, without a word to spare, and yet, in rhetoric and oratory, as fine as if intended for popular entertainment. The tones of his voice were new to many of us, and they were actually enchanting. All noise in the vast assemblage ceased; and he seemed as if alone with God, uttering thoughts and arguments of inspiration. "True, true, every word of it true," we would say, without speaking, (no one would have dared to speak or move;) "conclusive, splendid, demonstrative, irresistible!" The last sentence was finished; the speaker quietly resumed his seat; a thousand people drew a long breath; and the great issue was logically settled.

While no abstract can give any just idea of such a speech as a whole, yet it seems proper to say that its strength lay in convincing demonstrations of the following propositions :

Executive authority in the Methodist Episcopal Church has

power to remove or depose any officer on the ground of improper conduct.

Bishops and officers of the Church are subject to the executive authority of the General Conference by which they are appointed and to which they are amenable :

Therefore, 1. The General Conference has power to depose a Bishop who has by any act rendered himself unacceptable to the Church in the character of a general superintendent.

2. Its obligation to depose an offending Bishop is increased by the eminence and responsibility of his office.

The conclusion of the address was designed to clinch the conclusion of the syllogism. It here follows in part :

A Bishop's influence is not like a preacher's or class-leader's. It is diffused, like the atmosphere, every-where. So high a Church officer should be willing to endure not slight sacrifices for this vast connection. What could tempt you, sir, to trouble and wound the Church all through, from center to circumference? The preacher and the class-leader, whose influence is guarded against so strongly, can do little harm—a Bishop infinite. Their improper acts are motes in the air; yours are a pestilence abroad in the earth. Is it more important to guard against those than against these? Heaven forbid! Like the concealed attractions of the heavens, we expect a Bishop's influence to be all-abiding every-where; in the heights and in the depths, in the center and on the verge, of this great system ecclesiastical. If instead of concentric and harmonizing movements, such as are wholesome and conservative and beautifying, we observe in him irregularities which, however harmless in others, will be disastrous or fatal in him, the energy of this body, constitutionally supreme, must instantly reduce him to order; or, if that may not be, plant him in another and a distant sphere. When the Church is about to suffer a detriment which we by constitutional power can avert, it is as much treason in us not to exercise the power we have, as to usurp in other circumstances that which we have not.

From and after the delivery of that speech, as was well said by Dr. J. T. Peck, "all could see that the clearness of his intellect, the meekness and humility of his bearing, and the grace of his movements, fitted him for high official rank, and promised extraordinary executive ability."

Scarcely less in the light of those facts, than as an indorsement of his clear and strong views of the office and responsibility of Bishops in the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the spontaneous movement made which resulted a few days later

in his own election to that very office. Such a result both startled and humbled him. Dr. Hibbard says:

As a human call he would have at once declined the honor, but the circumstances of the case were so extraordinary, and the exercises of his mind so strongly corroborative of the hand of God in all, that he bowed in humble submission. The office had sought him, not he the office.

At a subsequent period he himself wrote:

At the General Conference in 1844, most unexpectedly to myself, (and to nearly all, I believe,) I was elected to the superintendency. A translation in the chariot of Elijah would not have overtaken me much more unexpectedly. My struggles were peculiar, and yet I found evidence that I was *called to this ministry*.

#### EPISCOPAL ADMINISTRATION.

To him the will of God was supreme law and supreme delight. He contemplated the episcopacy from the spiritual stand-point, and entered upon it with the single aim to the salvation of souls and the sanctification of the Church. His past life had been a preparatory discipline, and his great baptism in 1842 the qualification of power for this strange and unexpected work. Not the least of his evidences and his consolations was the common and hearty approval of the Church at large.

He entered upon the presidency of successive Conferences without delay, and, although subject to violent attacks of illness, he was, nevertheless, enabled to fulfill his entire round of official obligations during a series of years. In Dr. Palmer's life those years are made the subjects of successive chapters, in which his travels from Conference to Conference and his engagements in the line of evangelical work are presented in detail, free use being made of his own diary and letters. Dr. Hibbard separates the topics of his episcopal administration and evangelical labors, and judiciously condenses his diary and correspondence.

From both volumes, as well as from what is remembered by many living persons, it is evident that Bishop Hamline took no narrow view of the brief and technical items in which our Discipline states the duties of Bishops. He did not conceive that merely traveling across the country in railroad cars, and presiding at Conferences, by any means fulfilled the spirit of

those requirements. He understood the word "travel" as the equivalent of itinerate in the character of a minister of the Gospel, whose duty the Discipline elsewhere enjoins in phrases like these: "You have nothing to do but to save souls; therefore spend and be spent in this work." "Observe, it is not your business only to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that Society, but to save as many as you can, to bring as many sinners as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord." Hence, he devoted the intervals of Conference sessions to visits among the Churches and people, stirring them up, both publicly and socially, to zeal and activity in the divine life. No one that knew or even met him failed to be impressed with the fact that he endeavored to wield the full amount, both of his personal and official influence, as an agency for honoring God and promoting the salvation of men. As said by his last biographer:

His one absorbing object was to awaken the ministry and the Churches to the higher claims of their holy calling, and to reach out a hand of rescue to the perishing. His summer months were spent in attending Annual Conferences, and his winters in visiting the Churches.

Bishop Hamline's bearing in Annual Conferences was distinguished for a wonderful combination of dignity and humility. He had the great art of securing promptness and order in the dispatch of business, without any bustle or show of authority. He also had the greater talent of diffusing over a deliberative body that calm thoughtfulness and spirit of prayer, without which the standing direction of our Discipline concerning deportment at the Conferences is never fulfilled: "It is desired that all things be considered on these occasions as in the immediate presence of God."

Dr. Hibbard says:

His eye was ever watchful of the devotional and charitable spirit of the Conference. Often at the appearance of uncharitableness or levity, he would arrest business, and, in his own inimitable way, address the brethren briefly, calling them lovingly to watchfulness and prayer, and then propose a brief season of prayer, calling on the brother aggrieved, or perhaps the one offending, to pray.

Such influences could only be exerted by a man of great spiritual power. That Bishop Hamline was enabled to exert them was one of the happy fruits of his deep religious experience and of his habitual life of devotion. The results proved that such a life in no way diminished, but rather increased, his administrative ability in the difficult circumstances through which he was often called to guide his Conferences. The earlier period of his episcopal service was one of intense excitement, caused by the agitation of the times, especially along the borders of the newly organized Southern Church. Perhaps no more exciting scene ever took place in an Annual Conference than that in which he relieved Bishop Soule from the chair, in the Ohio Conference of 1845. The circumstances are fully stated by Dr. Hibbard, but we have only space for Dr. Cyrus Brooks' description of the scene :

A large portion of the Conference had risen to their feet, and some members, I think, had left the house. The critical moment had arrived, and it seemed that the next instant must bring hopeless confusion. Just at that instant Bishop Hamline stepped upon the platform. I can never forget his appearance. Twenty years have not dimmed the recollection of it in the least. It was full of animation, yet calm, commanding, majestic. No human movement ever so impressed me with the idea of irresistible power. It was power, too, wielded with consummate skill, and for a most beneficent end. I have seen him in some of his happiest moments, in some of the loftiest flights of his sublime eloquence, but I never saw him appear to so good advantage as then. He seemed to me almost more than man.

As he came forward he said that there were times when it became necessary to waive all considerations of mere courtesy, and exercise the authority with which one was intrusted. Such a time had come, and it was clearly his duty now to interpose. As he said this he waved his hand to the temporary chairman at his left, who instantly obeyed the signal and gave place. Bishop Hamline took his seat, order was immediately restored, and business resumed its usual course. A few minutes afterward a stranger entering the house would not have suspected that any thing unusual had occurred in the Conference. So sudden and so complete was the restoration of order and confidence, that one could hardly help thinking of the time when the Master said to the tumultuous waves of Gennesaret, "Peace, be still," and there was a great calm.

It was not long until the lofty form of Bishop Soule was seen moving toward the door, with his portfolio under his arm and his hat in his hand. He disappeared, and was seen among us no more.

## BISHOP HAMLINE AS A PREACHER.

The brief notices already given of his early ministry have shown that from the first an extraordinary influence attended his declarations of gospel truth. That kind of influence continued throughout the period of his episcopate. Wherever he went and whenever he preached, he was heard with profound and solemn interest. He did not limit his pulpit efforts to great occasions, but was as ready to preach to few as to many; nevertheless, his capacity to bring vast assemblies under the spell of the sublimest eloquence has been rarely equaled. His appearance when before an audience was that of perfect calmness and self-possession. He used few gestures, and no vociferation, but as he proceeded to present the great themes of the gospel in an easy but lucid style, clinching his positions with invulnerable logic, he impressed his hearers not only as a man having intimate communion with God, but as having in himself vast resources of intellectual and spiritual power. His emotions were not of the corruscating type. They did not blaze along the sky, like meteors. They rather heaved and swelled, like a suppressed but moving earthquake.

His habits as a preacher were formed during the six years of his itinerant ministry. It was never his custom to read or recite sermons to a congregation. In his preparations for pulpit address he wrote diligently, and thus acquired a style of peculiar transparency, precision, and force. Yet his writing was for self-discipline in the development and memorization of thought. In preparing for argumentative discussions, he carefully elaborated his definitions and propositions. In a few instances, and for special objects, he wrote out sermons at length, and thus became prepared to deliver them with more confidence and completeness. All his preparations were thus made auxiliary to effective extemporaneous preaching.

Dr. Hibbard says:

His imagination was not gorgeous, not copious; his taste, no less than his "godly sincerity," would have excluded all excess and dazzle. He was not a poet, but an orator, and his imagination described and illustrated rather than invented, and diffused an exquisite tinge of beauty over all his utterances.

"His elocution," says Dr. Lowrey, "was perfect. His voice—how could the Creator have improved it? like the key-note of



well-composed music, just right. Soft, mellow, full, rich in its grave accents, clear and insinuating in its higher inflections, tenderly impassioned and melting in its minor and sympathetic tones, it possessed the power of self-adjustment to every word, syllable, and sound of his sentences. I heard him speak twenty years ago, and to-day many of his words, and his mode of uttering them, live in my mind with all the vividness that belongs to the memories of yesterday. This I attribute largely to the enchanting effect of his elocution."

In his introduction to Bishop Hamline's works, Dr. Hibbard also gives this additional sketch, which is the more valuable from its historic comparisons:

It is not easy to do justice to his character without exaggeration on the one hand, or disparagement on the other. His individuality is so marked that, after all comparisons, he must stand alone. He possessed the enthusiasm, but not the frenzy, of Whitefield and Chalmers. He was more terse and pointed than Robert Hall, with less polish, and with an imagination and an order of intellect of superior adaptations to the ends of oratory. . . . The flow of his utterances was like the swell of the river current, more deep than rapid, yet moving on without interruption or commotion, always majestic, often quickened, like hurrying waters impatient of restraint, but never like the wild rush of the cataract. In this he contrasted with Olin. Hamline was impassioned, never boisterous—Olin was vehement; Hamline was earnest—Olin impetuous; Hamline was like the even, though often rapid, flow of a beautiful stream, bearing its buoyant burden safely and gracefully onward—Olin was like the torrent, or the whirlwind, hurrying all before it. With him the hurricane was inevitable, but he rode upon it in majesty, and, like the spirit of the storm, directed all its forces. Hamline never suffered the storm to arise, but checked it midway, and if the sweep and force of his eloquence were less, the auditors were left more self-controlled, and the practical ends not less salutary. With the rising inspiration of his theme, his dark, clear eye gathered new luster and emitted the fire of his thought, his countenance became suffused with the internal glow of his soul, and his whole person was animate with the genius of his subject.

It is a matter of no small interest, especially to students and young ministers, that a public speaker of such extraordinary power as Bishop Hamline has left on record in one of his published addresses, his own well-developed theory of eloquence. That address was delivered in 1836, but was not made accessible to general readers until the publication of the second volume of Hamline's works in 1871. That address, well studied,



can hardly fail to be of great value to many a young man desirous of qualifying himself to become eloquent in the advocacy of Christian truth and duty. It should, however, be taken in connection with the author's well-known theory that no eloquence can avail for the highest ends of the Christian ministry that is not vitalized by the deep pathos born of intense conviction, and nourished by intimate communion with the source of spiritual power. This our subject possessed in a high degree, and to it must be attributed a great measure of the success he had in winning souls to Christ, and to the higher Christian life.

A remarkable illustration of this occurred after his health had been completely shattered. It was at a grove-meeting which he had arranged for the benefit of his neighbors while residing near Schenectady. "At the closing service," wrote Dr. Carhart, "the Bishop arose, and, though scarcely able to stand without assistance, made an application of the sermon, and an appeal to the people, such as I have never heard equaled. The Holy Ghost fell on us. Weeping was heard in every direction in the vast assembly; sobs and cries for mercy followed; and, as the speaker continued, and even before the invitation was given, penitents crowded around the rude altar, and the whole assembly, rising to their feet, seemed drawn toward the speaker, and to melt like wax before the fire. When the invitation was given to those seeking Christ to come forward, it seemed to me that the whole audience moved simultaneously, while some actually ran and threw themselves prostrate upon the ground, and cried, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' The memory of that scene can never be effaced from my mind."

#### BISHOP HAMLINE AS A WRITER.

Many an eloquent preacher has ceased to be a power in the Church and in the world when his voice has been silenced by disease or death. Others, who have enlisted the press as an auxiliary to their work, have been able to speak on to successive generations. Of this number Bishop Hamline was an eminent example, the more conspicuous from the fact that so few of his contemporaries in the heroic age of Methodism did likewise. It is proper, however, to say that he never neglected or left his primary work to become an author. When officially

appointed by the Church to an editorial chair he improved his opportunity as a means of increasing his Christian and ministerial influence, as well as of serving the Church whose call he obeyed. With this high end in view, many of his articles became from the first permanently valuable. Not a few of them have been preserved by appreciative readers in the volumes of the "Ladies' Repository," and handed down as heir-looms to their households. It is no less in the line of good taste than of a good providence that the more important of those articles have now been taken out of their serial form and placed side by side in the beautiful volumes already named.

Those of Hamline's works that are presented in this permanent form, although of limited extent, deserve to be ranked in the highest grade of American theological literature. The first volume, being filled with sermons, will be most read by ministers. Special attention may be called to a series of three on the "Depravity of the Heart," also to those on "The Seen and the Unseen," "Delight in the House of God," "The Incarnation and the Immutability of Christ." In reading the sermons named we have marked many passages as of superior excellence. But lack of space forbids their insertion. The second volume of Hamline's works contains forty-eight sketches and plans of sermons, five public addresses, and seventeen theological essays. These various articles, having been selected on the ground of intrinsic excellence, are all worthy of perusal, if not of study. The sermon sketches cover an ample variety of subjects and style of address, and may serve as suggestive examples of a class of productions of which every preacher must prepare many.

Of the public addresses of the author, that on "Eloquence," and that delivered in the General Conference of 1844 on "The Case of Bishop Andrew," deserve to be read and re-read. Another, on "The Church of God," delivered during the Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, in 1839, is long and able. That on "The Grave," delivered at the opening of a cemetery, is a model for such a rare occasion.

Of the theological essays, those on Holiness, Faith, The New Birth, Arminianism, and The Holy Ghost, are the most important.

## RESIGNATION OF THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE.

The facts relating to this decisive step are fully related and described in the twenty-second chapter of Dr. Hibbard's biography, which opens with the following statement:

The year 1852 marks an epoch, not only in the life of Bishop Hamline, but in the history of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church as well. In that year, at the General Conference held in Boston, Mass., Bishop Hamline tendered his resignation as Bishop, and retired to the rank of a superannuated elder of the Ohio Conference. The doctrine of the Church as to the nature of our episcopacy had always been that it was an *office*, and not a distinct clerical *order*; but no act or precedent had ever occurred to give it practical and administrative sanction. Aside from ecclesiastical considerations, the spiritual loss to the Church by the retirement of such a man from the episcopacy was accepted with universal regret as a common affliction. The simple and only ground of his retirement was want of health.

The significance of the Bishop's resignation was heightened by the discussions which took place respecting it on the floor of the General Conference. From the whole tenor of those discussions, it was obvious that a request to be retired as a superannuated Bishop would have better accorded with the feelings of the Conference. But such a course did not comport with Bishop Hamline's stern views of propriety in his own case. Hence his resignation was unequivocal. When that fact became apparent, a reluctant consent was accorded and he was honorably released from the responsibilities of the office conferred upon him by the action of a previous General Conference.

So far, this is the only case of resignation of the episcopal office that has occurred in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1836 Dr. Wilbur Fisk was elected to that office, but as he declined episcopal ordination he was never considered a Bishop. Bishop Hamline had received the ordination and exercised the office during eight consecutive years. He then, under a sense of duty, surrendered his certificate of ordination and retired to the ecclesiastical position he had occupied before his episcopal election. The formal approval of that act by the General Conference made the precedent complete.

In the eminent example that has now passed under review there is not only instruction for Bishops, present and future, but for ministers and Christians in every grade and circumstance of human duty and trial. In Bishop Hamline's life it is seen that the greatness of the man and the nobleness and purity of his Christian character were not dependent upon his office. The office was an accident, taken up and laid down as occasion required. The man, the Christian, and the minister preceded and followed it. The office, indeed, secured great and peculiar opportunities of usefulness, but it required the highest style of a man and a Christian to improve them to the *maximum*.

#### LAST DAYS.

After all that Bishop Hamline was able to accomplish by diligent and self-denying action in the days of his strength, it may be questioned whether the greatest triumph of his life was not accomplished by his patient endurance of affliction, when it fell to his lot to be withdrawn into the privacy and solitudes of suffering. That he found in such scenes the abiding and cheering presence of the sympathizing Saviour and the sanctifying Spirit to be equal to his extremest need, is a fact adapted to encourage every afflicted child of God. Few in any sphere of life have ever been called to endure greater or more protracted physical distresses. Although a man of robust frame, he became in middle life the subject of an alarming disease of the heart. Notwithstanding repeated admonitions of danger from physicians, he sternly nerved himself up to meet every call of duty so long as he might be able. During his whole period of episcopal service he was subject to attacks of illness so violent and protracted that they would have paralyzed the efforts of ordinary men; but he went steadily forward, meeting his Conferences and preaching among the Churches to the full limit of his strength. When released from official responsibilities, it was not to rest, but to retire and suffer, without the faintest hope of recovery. While death would have been a happy release at any moment, yet he was willing to wait all the days of his appointed time, though each added day brought its allotment of pain and trial.

It pleased God to prolong his life during thirteen years, not

only of invalidity, but of ever-increasing physical distress. As he could no longer do the will of God in active service, he saw it to be alike his privilege and his duty to suffer that will in the furnace of affliction. That he did do so with the meekness of a disciple and the faith of a martyr is obvious from the records of his life during that period. In all Christian biography there are few if any more edifying examples of joy in sorrow and triumph in tribulation.

In 1856 he removed to Mount Pleasant, Iowa, where, in the neighborhood of his cherished friends, Dr. Elliott, Z. H. Coston, and others, he spent the remainder of his days.

His last words were, "This is wonderful suffering, but it is nothing to what my Saviour endured on the cross for me." Thus in the thought of the cross of Christ he triumphed over the last enemy.

Bishop Hamline's Christian life is open to imitation from all. In other spheres but few can follow him. But in the great matters of complete consecration, of earnest attention to the means of grace, and of simple trusting faith in the atoning Saviour, the humblest child of God may do likewise, in the confidence of obtaining similar divine favor, in life, in death, and in eternity.

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## ART. II.—OUR PACIFIC COAST PROBLEM.

*The Chinese in America.* By O. GIBSON. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

*Certain Phases of the Chinese Question.* By JOHN F. MILLER. In March number of "The Californian." San Francisco.

AGITATING the social fabric of the Pacific slope from Southern California to British Columbia, and from the ocean to the desert, is the momentous question, "What shall be done with the Chinaman?" It enters into all our political and business discussions; it invades our courts, our schools, and our religious assemblies; it finds its way into our homes, around table and fireside, and even into our secret chambers, as an ever-present, ever-disturbing factor in our lives. Thus far, and in its immediate local bearings, is the "Chinese question" the special problem of the Pacific coast; but above this, and in its higher and absolute relations, it is not a question belonging alone to

the Pacific, but reaching across to the Atlantic, extending northward and southward, and finally comprehending the American people in its embrace. It is a national question of gigantic proportions, demanding the highest wisdom and best integrity of our statesmen to give it an adequate, just, and ultimate settlement.

It so touches upon our relations with a foreign government, an extensive commerce, a time-honored policy of our own, and upon the matter of human brotherhood and equality of natural rights, that only the nation in its highest representative capacity can properly dispose of it. California and sister States of the Pacific are incompetent to frame legislation designed to abrogate articles of the Burlingame Treaty, either by the expulsion of the Chinese, or by depriving them of the rights of residence and labor. When the settlement comes it must needs be by federal authority, and in accordance with the enlightened moral sentiment of the nation. To reach that result and render that settlement both just and final, may take more time and cost more than any of us now anticipate. Whether we shall reach a peaceful solution of the problem, or reach it only at the end of another race war, depends mainly on the relative strength of forces, good and evil, struggling for mastery in our social and political system. If the bitter lessons of the past have been sufficiently learned, then shall we not need the chastisement of another internecine war to make us comprehend the designs of Providence, and follow on to the attainment of our destiny among the nations of the earth. It is not venturing too much to assert that the righteous sentiment of the American people demands a settlement in accordance with truth and justice, and that any solution upon the basis of race prejudice, false assumptions, and the misrepresentations of facts, must, in the affairs of men, meet reversal in the supreme court of the heavens, and share the fate of Judge Taney's decision against the colored man.

Before the writer are the two literary productions whose titles are given above. As they present the Chinese Question from opposite stand-points, so are their conclusions diametrically opposed. "The Chinese in America," a neat volume of some four hundred pages, has been noticed, read, reviewed, and assigned its place as a reliable authority on the subject of



which it treats. Ten years of missionary labor in China, and more than that length of time among the Chinese in America, as missionary and teacher, have given Dr. Gibson abundant opportunities for observation of the character and habits of this strange people. More than twenty years of acquaintance with their language, customs, and peculiarities, ought to be something of a guarantee that he knew whereof he wrote; while his high standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the repeatedly expressed confidence of that respectable body of men, the California Conference, would conclusively attest that he has not misrepresented the facts. With full acceptance of the doctrines of divine Providence, human brotherhood, and the power of the Gospel to save and civilize all men, he has written from the Christian stand-point, and, presenting the facts to a Christian public, calmly waits for a Christian verdict.

"Certain Phases of the Chinese Question" appeared as a magazine article in the March number of "*The Californian*," this present year, and at once received the most favorable notice from the anti-Chinese press and politicians of the nation. General Miller, a gentleman well known in the social and military circles of San Francisco, appears as the representative of a very large, influential, and highly respectable class of people on the Pacific coast, who hold that the presence of the Chinese is a great detriment to the country, and that their immigration should be stopped. As to the stand-point from which General Miller views the case we are left somewhat in the dark; but from his remark that the "two civilizations which have here met . . . are each the result of evolution under contrariant conditions," and similar expressions, we are led to infer that the "evolution theory" is a favorite with him, while some of his concluding sentences, setting forth that peaceful resistance of Mongolian invasion (?) is simply "to preserve this land for our people and their posterity forever, and hold republican government and free institutions in trust for Anglo-Saxon posterity," imply that he accepts that venerable formulá, "This is a white man's government," as a substantial article of his political faith. Be that as it may, the phases, facts, and conclusions presented by him are deserving of respectful consideration; the value of his opinions as those of an ordinary, and perhaps superficial, observer of Chinese character and habits, and his



general positions as compared with those of Dr. Gibson, are deserving of further reference in these pages.

#### THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM.

Within the embrace of this Pacific-coast problem, at least four elements prominently present themselves, and must needs be taken into account in the solution thereof. These are:

1. The number and character of the Chinese in America.
2. The origin, extent, and grounds of the anti-Chinese sentiment.
3. The doctrine of human brotherhood, and the time-honored American policy of open doors for all to enter.
4. Reciprocity relations, and their necessary operation.

(1.) As to the number and character of these strangers, something must be said at the outset. Thirty years have passed since the first Chinaman landed on these shores. During that period there has been no restriction placed on their immigration; they have come and gone freely; and yet, with all the inducements commonly supposed to be tempting them hither, and after all these years, according to carefully kept statistics of our Custom House and the Chinese "Six Companies," less than 150,000 of them are to be found in the whole United States of America.

Moreover, within the last four years there has been a marked decrease rather than increase in their numbers; they have come by hundreds, but have gone by thousands. Recent issues of the San Francisco dailies apprise us of the loss of 7,000 of this population within a recent period; yet Mr. Miller, and the press generally on this coast, would have us believe that Chinese immigration pours in like an ever-increasing flood, threatening to swamp our civilization and whole social system in a very short time. A yearly influx of 150,000 or more people from Europe appears to create no alarm, but seems rather a most wonderful benison to poor America!

It may be remarked in this connection that the heaviest immigration of Chinese took place in 1852, when 20,026 arrived in California; it may be further remarked that according to the rate of increase of the thirty years past, it would take about two hundred and fifty years for America to gain a Chinese population of one million! But, according to Mr. Miller's

own estimate of the increase of our white population, we shall, in sixty years, without the aid of immigration, have one hundred and eighty millions of people. One would suppose we might be able to take care of a few hundred thousand inferior (?) Chinamen almost any day in our future.

But allowing, as he justly claims, that from the over-crowded population of the single province of Canton, millions could be spared and their loss not felt, what evidence is there that any exodus will take place? Mr. Gibson makes the point that their clannishness, provincial feuds, and hatreds, are a pretty sure safeguard against the coming of any but those of the dialect already here, while traditional policy and disinclination to move must for generations serve to keep the masses of the Chinese people at home.

And suppose they do come according to the openings for employment found here, and suppose they do make openings for each other, and invest their little capital in business enterprises in this country, what of that? Have not Americans, Jews, Turks, and the enterprising people of this world generally, done that same thing, and pushed themselves into employments and business openings wherever there has been a chance, whether wanted or not by the native races? Or has the noble Anglo-Saxon at last found such a superior in economy and successful business habits that he must adopt the cast-off policy of exclusion toward one of the nations of the earth?

As to the object of the Chinese in coming to America, and their general character and behavior while here, the opinions of the wise differ quite materially. It would seem probable, however, that they have come without the least idea of invasion, colonization, or the acquisition of the Pacific coast as a province of the Chinese Empire, and that they have the sole purpose of bettering their financial condition. Other people, many of them, appear to have come for the same sordid purpose!

They are usually represented as the most vicious, immoral, filthy, and corrupt people in the world, without conscience or moral sense; but in almost the next breath their enemies pronounce them the most frugal, industrious, patient, painstaking and persevering people on earth. How both pictures may be correct it might puzzle a philosopher to explain. Certain it is that the Chinese have brought their stupid gods and heathen

customs to this Christian land ; true it is that many of them are gamblers, thieves, and desperadoes of the worst kind ; true, also, that some of them carry on an accursed traffic in human flesh—young girls and women are bought and sold by these monsters, and used and abused for the vilest purposes. But these things cannot be said of the mass of the Chinese in America, and their enemies know it. The merchants, artisans, and common laborers of that race, as a general rule, commend themselves as honest, peaceable, and law-abiding inhabitants of the country. Our missionaries and merchants in China, and America as well, sustain this statement by almost unfailing testimony. By reason of their docility, obedience, and reliability as laborers, they have won their way into thousands of places on the Pacific coast.

Their wonderful capability for acquiring our language, arts, and industries, is well understood, and their astuteness, skill, and imitative genius, render them formidable competitors of the white man. There is scarce any thing that the latter does which the Chinaman seems incapable of doing, and the chances are that, after a few trials, he will do it with more deftness and dispatch than his instructor. Their race is inferior only in point of civilization, and in that only because an inferior, a pagan, religion, has cursed their land for ages, while Christianity, born of heaven and endued with divine power, has produced and nurtured the civilization of the European and American families of men. Let the leaven of the Gospel and the light of God's word permeate the dead, stagnant masses of Chinese ignorance and superstition ; let contact with foreign nations go on ; let modern ideas and Christian faith enter into more vigorous conflict with venerable philosophy and a worn-out pagan theology ; give the Chinese people a few of the opportunities we have so long enjoyed, and then look for a race and nation taking rank with the foremost on the face of the earth. Such are the Chinese, and such their character and capabilities.

#### THE ANTI-CHINESE SENTIMENT.

Opposition to the Chinese had its origin years ago, when that people first began to appear in our mining regions as competitors of white laborers. They could well afford to work for less than the extravagant prices current at that time. They

took the worn-out "claims" abandoned by white miners, and made themselves rich by their untiring industry. Hence the "Foreign Miners' Tax" was imposed to check their operations, and collected of no other foreigners.

As the capabilities of our soil and climate for fruit-bearing and general agriculture became known, they again became active competitors of the white laborers, insomuch that they were willing to work for more reasonable wages, and proved more constant, obedient, and reliable. While it became the custom of the ordinary field hands to demand high wages for the busy seasons, then lie around taverns and saloons till their earnings were gone, the Chinese toiled on constantly, willing to work for almost nothing rather than be idle and on expense. When the Central Pacific Railroad was in process of construction again was there demand for their service, and soon they proved themselves more available railroad builders than any white laborers the railroad company could afford to employ. And when, in development of our splendid resources, certain manufacturing enterprises were entered upon, once more capital was glad to avail itself of their patient industry and rapidly acquired skill. Multitudes of business men have testified that none of these enterprises would have been possible for years to come had it not been for the presence of the Chinese.

Meantime, the opposition to their so-called cheap labor and reduction of prices, originating with the common laborers of America, but chiefly of European birth, was gaining strength; and, inasmuch as the one class of laborers had *votes* and the other had none, politicians, newspapers, and political parties, added fuel to the flame, while Jesuitical bigotry in the background was ever active in rousing race prejudice and fomenting class hatred. A marked revulsion in business came on in 1874, and financial depression settled down upon the State. There set in a reaction from the wild speculation, extravagance, and high prices of earlier years. A crash came when the Bank of California failed, and soon all classes began to feel the pressure of "hard times." The industrious middle classes—mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen—found employment more difficult to secure; values depreciated, and building enterprises and property investments almost entirely ceased. Meanwhile, the Chinese, more economical than others, toiled on, steadily

filling their places as cooks, laundrymen, common and skilled laborers. In the general depression and discontent it is somewhat natural that public attention should have been turned to them, and the opposition greatly extended and intensified. At length it took shape and crystallized itself in the "Workingman's Movement," whose motto has ever been, "The Chinese must go!" Largely in obedience to that movement a new Constitution was framed and adopted by the State of California, and at the first general election under its operation, held September 3, 1879, the electors of the State were required by gubernatorial proclamation to vote on the question of "Chinese immigration." As might have been expected, the verdict was overwhelmingly "against Chinese immigration." Out of a total vote of 161,094, there were but 883 "for," while 154,638 were "against" the immigration of the Chinese.

The politicians and newspapers bear Mr. Miller company in pronouncing this vote decisive as to the strength of Pacific coast sentiment on this question. But as to the real significance of this vote some remarks may be in order.

*First.* Let it be remembered that this vote was taken when political strife was at its height, and politicians of all parties were bidding for votes, and doing their utmost to make people believe they were in immediate danger of an Asiatic inundation.

*Second.* There was a heavy *silent* vote that would not be forced into an expression on the subject, and that silent vote represents some of the best citizens of the State.

*Third.* The *private* sentiment of at least half the people of California seems to differ very essentially from the *public* sentiment thus expressed, inasmuch as they show themselves quite in favor of the presence of the Chinese, by giving regular employment to some 75,000 of that race; and notably is this the case with certain well-known editors and politicians, who in their public utterances constantly and bitterly denounce the Mongolians, while keeping several of them steadily engaged in their kitchens and gardens! This illustrates the depth and sincerity of much of this clamor.

*Fourth.* This strong anti-Chinese sentiment has been largely produced by the one-sided statements and misrepresentations of demagogues and lying newspapers; hence, it is not a correct or

intelligent sentiment ; and an opinion not based on substantial facts is valueless.

*Fifth.* The so-called anti-Chinese element embraces a great variety of people. Lowest in the scale are the "Sand-Lotters" — a rabid, ignorant mob, mainly of foreigners, led by Dennis Kearney ; and this is a large class of our population. Next come the cunning demagogues and time-serving politicians — that mighty army of office-seekers, whose principles are cheap, and variable according to popular feeling. Then we have a great many honest, industrious, hard-working, and Christian people, who, misguided by the one-sided or false statements of the secular, and the silence or tame acquiescence of the religious newspapers of the coast, sincerely believe that the presence of the Chinese is a great evil, and the immediate cause of all that distress which has really come from land monopoly, stock gambling, reckless extravagance, and the expensive vices of the past. And, last of all, there are legions who feel no special opposition to the Chinese *per se*, but are so tired of this unceasing howl and agitation, which for three years has been cursing the State, that they would be glad to have the immigration cease, or almost any thing else take place that would give a respite from disturbance. Taking all the elements together, California furnishes a singular illustration of the way in which classes influence each other, and how a whole people may be swayed by misconceptions, and placed in opposition to avowed principles of human equality and justice !

These classes hold exceedingly various views as to the proper remedy for the evil. Absolute expulsion and entire exclusion are demanded by the first ; the second are ready for any thing ; the others favor restriction or limitation of the immigration, while they seem quite willing the 150,000 now here should remain ; and those who are able evince their willingness by keeping that number, less or more, at work on good wages.

But there are certain objections to the Chinese, grave and otherwise, that demand passing notice. It is objected by Mr. Miller and others :

1. That our country is in danger of being overrun by a pagan horde from China, who will ultimately subvert our Christian civilization.

As to the danger of a large influx of Chinese, and the prob-



abilities in that direction, perhaps sufficient has already been said in this article. But the subversion of the superior civilization by the lower and weaker—when has it taken place, and under what attendant circumstances? The western empire of the Romans fell before the invasion of Goth and Vandal; the Greek empire succumbed before the invincible Ottoman emperor and his daring legions; but the best-read historians tell us that internal corruptions, the decay of virtue, and the effeminacy of civilized life, operating for generations, subverted the nations, while on their ruins grew the nobler civilization of modern times. That civilization which under the lead of Charles Martel dashed down from the Pyrenees the hosts of Saracenic invasion, and in Luther's day hurled back the crescent from the plains of Hungary—which has encircled the globe with its institutions, and now commands the fear and respect of the world—can never be subverted, except by its own corruptions. History and faith unite in giving this assurance, while on the other hand the signs of the times strongly indicate that a hundred years of contact with Christian nations, and a hundred years of missionary effort, will completely overthrow the pagan civilization of China, and place her among the progressive Christian powers of the earth; and this may be the last and greatest victory of Christianity before the end and consummation of all things.

2. It is objected that they are coolie slaves, owned by the "Six Companies," degrading free white labor by their presence, and bringing down the prices paid for ordinary work below living rates.

But from the concurrent testimony of all the missionaries familiar with Chinese customs and language, the native Christians and the mass of the Chinese people themselves, together with the fact that in the hundreds of Chinese cases tried in our courts no contract for the sale or delivery of a slave has ever been discovered, Dr. Gibson shows conclusively that slavery does not exist among the male Chinese population of our country. That girls and women are enslaved for the purposes already indicated cannot be denied, and a glaring shame it is to our public officials and courts that of the six thousand Chinese women in this country, about five thousand are held in the vilest kind of servitude. That contracts occasionally exist, accord-

ing to whose terms numbers of Chinamen may work for small wages for some months, or longer, may also be the case; nor is it uncommon for the "Six Companies," or wealthy relatives in this country, to advance passage money to their poor countrymen desiring to come here, and then require them to pay back the money advanced by monthly installments from their wages; but this has not been uncommon among other nationalities. To call China "the great slave-pen of the world," as Mr. Miller does, is to considerably exceed the truth. One must also conclude that it is a singular kind of slavery which allows its victims to go where they please, make their own bargains, collect their own wages, and do what they please with the proceeds, as the Chinese are known to do! If we inquire very closely into the degradation of "free white labor," the discovery will soon be made that laziness, improvidence, tobacco, and rum are the active agents operating through a thousand channels, and ever lowering our common people to a more wretched scale of being.

If the Chinese have assisted in bringing down the prices of labor somewhat, they have done the Pacific coast good service; yet employers know to their sorrow that no such thing as *cheap* labor exists in California. Even the Chinese obtain from one half more to double the wages paid white men and women in the Atlantic States for the same kind of service, while the cost of living and clothing is less in San Francisco than in many Eastern cities. With the splendid resources of California for almost every kind of manufacture, why is so little manufacturing done? How is it that from an annual product of 40,000,000 pounds of wool, 38,000,000 are sent East, worked up by skillful operatives there, and sent back to us as woolen goods? Hides are produced by the million, sold to the Eastern buyer, and fifty thousand cases of boots and shoes come back to us in a single year; other things are in much the same state. With all our opportunities, and protected by a double freight on materials and goods a distance of three thousand miles, we are yet unable to carry on manufacturing enterprises extensively or successfully. One would suppose from this that one of our greatest needs is the importation of *cheaper* labor from some source. But our white laborers refuse to come down from high prices, and the Chinese work on at a little

below the standard of the others; so there is something of a dead-lock in manufacturing enterprise. That wages will ultimately come down in California to the level of other States, and that there will be plenty to do, there is no doubt. Just how low the Chinese may fall in their prices we cannot tell; but it seems certain that it will not be lower than the rates paid common hands in the Eastern States.

3. It is objected that they do not use our products, that it costs them nothing to live, and that their earnings are all sent out of the country.

A trip through the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and a little observation directed to the variety of goods and provisions on sale, must render the objection somewhat curious. Pork, beef, fish, flour, potatoes, fruits of all kinds; sewing-machines, jewelry, time-pieces, clothing, and "Yankee notions" of all kinds, abound—so that it appears from a careful estimate of the value of these home products, that they use \$6,000,000 annually! However much ability they may possess for living on nothing, observation abundantly shows that there are no more heavy feeders in the State than these same starveling (?) Chinese! It may be remarked, though, that their liquor bills are not so heavy as those of the superior race.

The amount sent back to China each year is greatly overestimated. That bitter anti-Chinese organ, the "San Francisco Call," with a passing twinge of honesty, in a recent issue, allowed that it did not exceed \$1,500,000 a year, while Dr. Gibson places the figures at \$800,000—a large amount in either case, and better for us were it all spent here; but while our people are spending \$200,000,000 a year in Europe for pleasure, and many millions besides for French wines and silks, which we do not need, it would seem a little ridiculous to raise such an uproar against the Chinamen for sending home a small part of their earnings.

4. Again, it is objected that they buy no real estate, pay no taxes, and do nothing to support our institutions or government.

Though little encouragement has been given them to make permanent investments in this country, yet in San Francisco alone they have purchased real estate to the value of over \$800,000. In support of the government they annually pay duties on their imports of over \$2,000,000; poll tax, \$250,000;

other taxes and for licenses, \$500,000 ; rents, \$100,000 ; insurance, \$500,000 ; while our lines of travel and freighting are heavily patronized by them.

5. Once more, it is objected that they are an inferior race, incapable of assimilation, of becoming citizens or Christians, and withal a most dangerous element in our society. This is General Miller's stronghold, and really contains in itself the gravest valid objection that can be urged.

But let us look into the merits of the case. If the Chinese are indeed an inferior race, "a scrub stock," as Mr. Miller says, why should those who believe in the "survival of the fittest" feel any alarm in this exigency? Evolution will doubtless regulate the case in due time, and we have little to fear. As to assimilation, there is a wide distinction to be made between the *possibility* and the *fact* of such a thing taking place. If *intermarriage* of the races is meant, then the *fact* is that such assimilation is not yet very common ; but several instances of such intermarriage, and troops of children, whose features are mingled Caucasian and Mongolian, proclaim the *possibility* of such a thing. If the adoption of our language, mode of dress, and habits of life be meant, then the *fact* is that in these regards the Chinese assimilate very slowly, and it is an objection against them of considerable weight. But closer examination will show that many thousands of them do learn our language, and in many ways assimilate in the use of our customs, manners, and inventions, enough to show the *possibility* of their doing so generally.

But there are certain obstacles to assimilation which need to be remarked upon. First, on the part of the Chinaman there is just one thing that renders him peculiar, and that makes him a Chinaman the world over, and that one thing is his *cue*. It is the crowning glory of the Mongolian costume. That cue has now been worn for about two hundred and fifty years, and is the sign of subjection to the present Tartar dynasty of the empire, the badge of Chinese citizenship. But it is not an essential part of the man himself, and may be cut off without risking his life ! Now then, let the barber, instead of shaving the head of his patient, cut his hair a decent length all around ; ensconce your subject in a suitable suit of clothes, polish him up a little in one of the schools, and lo ! you have such

a nice-looking, medium-sized youth that you would scarce recognize him as the Chinaman of a short time before. Many have already made that change, and thousands more would do so, were it not for losing caste among their own people, and the protection of their government. But China will at length do as Japan has done—allow her subjects to abandon this barbarous custom, and dress as they please.

For our part, we have put obstacles in the way of their assimilation such as these: We have made them ineligible to citizenship by our new Constitution; we have discriminated against them by such a set of laws as have not for years disgraced the statute-book of any civilized country; we have taxed them \$40,000 a year to support our public schools and sedulously excluded them from the privileges thereof; our hoodlums have made it unsafe for them to travel or live where they cannot easily secure protection; things of this kind have rendered their assimilation slow, tended to confirm them in their clannishness, and given them no encouragement to abandon the customs of their country. Yet, in spite of it all, a gradual change has been going on. Many have abandoned their heathenism and are leading Christian lives; many have their families here and desire to make this their home.

The charge that the Chinese are a most dangerous element of our population, living in beastly filth, corrupting the young, and defying our laws by secret and inexorable tribunals, is one often repeated. The truth is this: They are a heathen people, with heathen vices—gambling and opium dens, theaters and places of prostitution; there are plenty of these, and they have their patrons. But competent judges say the abominations of these things are no worse than are found among white people in all large cities. The few of our own race drawn into them have already been hopelessly corrupted by our own peculiar institutions. Breweries, beer-gardens, five thousand or more saloons in California, Sunday picnics, excursions, godless schools—these are mainly responsible for the army of hoodlums and the bad state of morals and finances among our people; and the Chinese are accountable alone in the fact that our own people have unwisely hired them to do the work they should have done themselves and taught their children to do. That they have secret courts in operation there is no reliable

evidence—neither prison, nor dungeon, nor testimony are found in proof.

About the only valid objections, then, are these, namely: Their slow assimilation to American customs and modes of life, and the fact that thus far so few have come to remain and identify themselves with the interests of the country, for which things we are ourselves largely responsible.

#### OUR TRADITIONAL POLICY.

Belief in human brotherhood and open doors for all has been our national doctrine for a hundred years. Under its operation our country has been closed to none, and it has been our theory to extend to all who might come the enjoyment of equal privileges with ourselves as to trade, labor, and residence. We have made no conditions looking to the limitation of the incoming tide; white or dusky, rich or poor, bad or good, to all the gate has stood open; but now we are confronted with an immigration from Asia, differing in some respects from that which has come from Europe. What shall be done to meet this new phase of the immigration question? Shall we change our time-honored policy and plant exclusion on our western shore? Is this immigration so threatening that we must now put limitations upon it and render it less free than in the past? Or is no action necessary?

Were there no turbulent European element on our hands, holding the ballot, swayed by crafty priests and designing demagogues, perhaps there would be no Chinese question to vex us; but, unfortunately, we cannot eliminate this disturbing element from our national life, and must, therefore, try to adjust the case in some other way. Is the expulsion of the Chinese, or a limited immigration, the solution of the problem? Allowing that there are some grave objections to them, and that indirectly they cause some disturbance in our political life, will the proposed remedy place us in any better position than we now occupy? Viewed in the light of our principles relating to human rights and justice, the plan would seem to involve too many contradictions and too radical a change of policy to be acceptable to the American people as a whole. Yet the nation must protect its own life and secure the best good of its citizens. It would seem from past experience that to have in our



midst so large a foreign element not possessed of the rights of citizenship must often, owing to the peculiarities of our popular government, be the occasion of grave disturbances and sometimes subject our system to a too heavy strain. The genius of our free institutions demands that we should make no distinction on account of race or nationality alone; that we should exclude no one on account of his color; and that we should extend to all who are willing to conform to American ideas and modes of life the same rights of residence and citizenship.

True, we may by treaty stipulations with China secure a limitation of Chinese immigration, provided we submit to the loss of some of our privileges in the Chinese Empire; but that can do little else than delay the final issue. Some time in the future we shall be compelled to face the question fairly, and settle the matter forever as to whether the Chinaman is a man on American soil or not. The readiest, safest, and most consistent solution of the case, is to place all foreigners on a common footing, make all eligible to citizenship on certain conditions, or else none at all, and then, if necessary to limit immigration, let the restrictions apply to Europeans and Asiatics alike. Let the most deserving come, no matter what the shade of his skin or shape of his eye. Once make the Chinese generally eligible to citizenship, no matter on how severe educational and moral conditions, and the question is solved. The objections will speedily vanish; the demagogues and newspapers cease to howl against them; and the ignorant mob will no more dare attempt their injury than they now do that of the colored citizen in the more civilized parts of our country.

#### RECIPROCITY RELATIONS.

Our relations of friendship and commerce with China are so intimately connected with this question that we cannot disregard them. The Burlingame Treaty was made at our instance and for our benefit. Through it we are allowed in China all privileges granted the "most favored nations." We cannot, therefore, legislate or take adverse action in the matter, and not be confronted by certain unpleasant consequences. We shall not be sustained in laying upon China conditions favorable only to ourselves; nor can we make conditions for others

to which we ourselves are not willing to submit. If an American has the right to go where he pleases, stay as long as he pleases, earn all he can, and dispose of it as he may choose, so has any other man the same right. If he has the right to lay limitations around the Chinaman in his coming and the use of his earnings in this country, the latter has an equal right to retaliate after his own fashion.

We now have a commerce with China yearly aggregating over \$24,000,000, carried on chiefly by our own vessels, and handled largely by our own merchants. With such a market and ever-increasing demands for our products of all descriptions, it would seem eminently proper that we should foster the trade and do nothing to turn it into other channels. England is anxious to monopolize the trade with China and Japan, and would only be too glad to sustain China in any discrimination she might make against American merchants and American products, by way of retaliation for discriminations against her people in this country. China is not the puny, helpless power we have been accustomed to regard her; but, with the throbbings of a new civilization and a new life, is awaking like a giant from long slumber, and will ere long be able to compel respect from the nations of the earth. America and China—the oldest and the youngest of great nations—ought ever to be on the most friendly terms, ought ever to deal justly by each other, and ought to mutually aid each other in the development of their respective destinies, and the advancement of humanity!

Finally, we have these conclusions to act upon:

1. To exclude or discriminate against any people simply on the ground of race, color, or previous condition, is a grave departure from American first principles, and an attempt to wrest from others rights we insist on for ourselves.

2. It is too late in the history of the world for liberal America to adopt the cast-off, selfish, and narrow policy of China. It is better to aid or compel China to adopt and carry out our own.

3. While we may justly protect home industries, and allow to citizens of all races superior privileges, we cannot repress free competition of the races, nor deprive men of the inalienable right of hiring and being hired in an open labor market.

4. The solution of the question is in placing all foreigners on the same basis, giving to all the rights of citizenship only

on certain high conditions of long residence, education, and sworn allegiance, and discriminating, if at all, not in favor of one race above another, but in favor of citizens of all the races!

5. While it seems almost certain that the Anglo-Saxon race will ever predominate on American soil, Providence, with the finger of destiny, points no less distinctly to this land as the one sacred spot where all the races of men shall meet and dwell in full fellowship, and where at last the unity and brotherhood of humanity shall find their noblest earthly illustration.

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### ART. III.—PAN-PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL.\*

"THE Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System," is the official name of the General Triennial Council recently in session in the city of Philadelphia. This Pan-Presbyterian body originated in the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (North) in 1873, in appointing Drs. Crosby and Hatfield, of New York, and Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, a committee "to correspond with sister Churches holding the Westminster standards, with the view of bringing about an ecumenical council to consider subjects of common interest to all, and especially to promote harmony of action in the mission fields, at home and abroad."

It will be observed that in the very inception of the movement "harmony of action" in the prosecution of missionary work was made the special prominent object. A preliminary conference was called in London, in 1875. Of one hundred and one delegates commissioned to attend that conference only sixty-four were present; but they represented more than a score of different Presbyterian bodies in Great Britain and her colonies, on the Continent, and in the United States. It was an

\* It should be said that this article was prepared in advance of the official publication of the proceedings of the Council, reliance being chiefly placed on the reports of "The Philadelphia Press"—reports which were frequently commended by members of the Council for their accuracy and fullness. The official record may show some slight changes in paragraphs herein quoted, but these can hardly be considerable or important, and the general drift of the Council, with respect to the topics discussed in this article, was unmistakable in its character.

important meeting, characterized by great warmth of brotherly feeling, and by the expression of a concurrent judgment that a closer alliance and a more manifest fellowship of the Churches holding the Presbyterian system was demanded. The objects and methods of the proposed Council were defined as follows :

The Council shall seek to guide and stimulate public sentiment, by papers read, by addresses delivered and published, by the circulation of information respecting the allied Churches and their missions, by the exposition of scriptural principles, and by defenses of the truth, by communicating the minutes of its proceedings to the supreme courts of the Churches forming the Alliance, and by such other action as is in accordance with its constitution and objects.

The Council shall consider questions of general interest to the Presbyterian community ; it shall seek the welfare of Churches, especially such as are weak or persecuted ; it shall gather and disseminate information concerning the kingdom of Christ throughout the world ; it shall commend the Presbyterian system as scriptural, and as combining simplicity, efficiency, and adaptation to all times and conditions ; it shall also entertain all subjects directly connected with the work of evangelization—such as the relation of the Christian Church to the evangelization of the world, the distribution of mission work, the combination of church energies, especially in reference to great cities and destitute districts, the training of ministers, the use of the press, colportage, the religious instruction of the young, the sanctification of the Sabbath, systematic beneficence, the suppression of intemperance and other prevailing vices, and the best methods of opposing infidelity and Romanism.

The constitution adopted recognized the principle of equality of representation from the clergy and laity, declaring that the delegates, "as far as practicable," should "consist of an equal number of ministers and elders ;" and it also inhibited the Council from interfering "with the existing creed or constitution of any Church in the Alliance, or with its internal order or external relations."

The first Pan-Presbyterian Convocation, for which provision was thus made, assembled in Edinburgh, Scotland, in July, 1877. It was a large, able, and influential body, and fairly representative of the Reformed Churches of the Presbyterian order in different parts of the world. This Council, though not satisfactory in every particular, did much to promote deeper fellowship among the Churches, to advance the cause of foreign missions, and to bring

more prominently before the mind of the Christian world the necessity and practicability of a confederation of Protestantism, especially in and through its several distinctive denominations, for the more successful performance of evangelistic work, and for a stronger demonstration of the essential unity of the Church and of the common headship of all believers in our Lord Jesus Christ. The published volume of its proceedings is an interesting and suggestive document. Provision was made for a triennial meeting of the Council, and the Convocation in Philadelphia in the last days of September and the first days of October, 1880, was the result of that arrangement. It is this second Pan-Presbyterian Assembly which specially interests us at the present time.

The roll of the Council showed the attendance of delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, United States, Canada and other British colonies and dependencies, Africa, India, Ceylon, and from Victoria, New South Wales, New Hebrides, South Australia, and Tasmania, in Australasia. It was, therefore, an Ecumenical Conference, or Pan-Council, representing, with scarcely an exception, all branches of the Presbyterian Church, in all parts of the habitable world. The names of forty men of distinguished merit appeared on the programme who had not been selected by their respective Churches as delegates. Altogether it was a body of men of marked ability, ripe culture, distinguished scholarship and unquestioned devotion to the cause of Christ, especially as represented by the Presbyterian Church.

An order of exercises had been carefully prepared for each day of the session, and themes for essays and reports assigned to certain leading members of the Council. Some of these were distinctively denominational, such as, Report of Statistics, Principles of Presbyterianism, Ruling Elders, Creeds and Confessions, Presbyterianism and Education, Presbyterianism in relation to Civil and Religious Liberty, Presbyterian Catholicity, the Theology of the Reformed Church, with special reference to the Westminster Standards, and Desiderata of Presbyterian History. The whole Christian world, however, is deeply concerned in the relation which the great Presbyterian body holds to some, at least, of these subjects. Many of the themes dis-

cussed were of the widest Christian interest, and of the highest importance, as, The Ceremonial and the Moral in Worship, Inspiration and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the Relations of Science and Theology, Agnosticism, the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ, Future Retribution, and the Conflict between Faith and Rationalism. Of a large number of the topics considered, it may be said that they were not only broader than the domain of the Presbyterian Church, but also that they were of such a practical character as to interest patriots, philanthropists and Christians in all lands; such as, for instance, Religion in Secular Affairs, Family Religion and Training of the Young, the Application of the Gospel to Employers and Employed, Christianity the Friend of the Working Classes, How to deal with Young Men trained in Science in this Age of Unsettled Opinion, Religion and Politics, Church Extension in large cities and in sparsely settled regions, Sabbath-schools, the Children in the Sabbath Service, Temperance, Popular Amusements, Observance of the Sabbath, Co-operation among Missionaries, Training of Candidates for the Ministry, Systematic Beneficence, Regeneration, and Revivals of Religion. These are subjects in which all men, countries, and Churches are interested and concerned. They touch the foundations of social order, of public law, of personal happiness, of the progress of the race, and of the civilization and conversion of the world. Their consideration by such a body of intelligent, cultured, and devout men as composed the recent Pan-Presbyterian Council, is an event of more than ordinary importance, and likely to exert a wide influence on the future of the Church and of the nations of the earth.

The able and eloquent opening sermon delivered before the Council by Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., is remarkable from the fact that it presents six prominent characteristics of the great family of Presbyterian Churches, not one of which differentiates the Presbyterian body from other orthodox Protestant Churches. Change the name of the denomination, and select a different class of historic illustrations, and the sermon might as well have been preached before a Methodist Ecumenical Conference as before a Presbyterian Pan-Council. Certainly Methodism claims to be loyal to the person of Jesus Christ, to bear witness to the truth, to be catholic in spirit and purpose,



to stand for civil liberty, to be devoted to the work of Christian education, and to be missionary in its character and life. The facts and incidents of Methodist history furnish powerful arguments and elucidations to establish and to illumine every one of these propositions—some of them much more impressive than any which were employed by Dr. Paxton. This only shows that the greatest and best things of the Presbyterian Church and of the Methodist Church are those things which are held in common by all denominations of Protestant Christianity. It illustrates what Principal M'Vicar, of Montreal, said before the Council, that, "generally speaking, it will be found that the weakest part of a man's creed is that which he holds alone, and the strongest part is that which he holds in common with all true servants of the Lord." According to the noble sentiment of the great D'Aubigne, "That which gives life to Churches is not their diversities of government or worship or of discipline, but that 'most holy faith' which is common to them all."

The great value of an ecumenical council is not, it seems to us, in the able papers read; in the exhaustive reports made; in the brilliant and powerful array of talent and influence; in setting up new standards of orthodoxy, or in showing a pertinacious adherence to old standards, nor in any thing of this sort, however valuable such results may be in themselves considered. Jesus said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Christianity demonstrated by an exhibition of spiritual brotherhood, by a full tide of holy love which will submerge all the rocks and shoals of difference, and showed by a practical and earnest co-operation in doing the Master's work, irrespective of denominational distinctions or doctrinal divergences—this is the great need of the Church, to-day, in order to compact its forces, to economize its expenditures, to harmonize its life with that of its glorious Head, and to make it victorious over the empire of darkness and death. Disbelief, in every form, is more impressed and shaken by exhibitions of Christian love than by any other gospel agency. It is the Holy Spirit of God dwelling in the hearts, shining in the faces, speaking in the words, and embodying itself in the deeds of Christian men, which, more powerfully than any other fact or influence, demonstrates Chris-

tianity to the world. Love, and not orthodoxy, is the test of discipleship. "If ye have love one to another"—not if ye all agree as to doctrinal symbols—then "shall all men know that ye are my disciples." Right thinking is important, and orthodoxy is not a thing to be disdained; but denominational differences are not usually in regard to the most important matters. The imperishable things of inestimable value are those in respect to which the great majority of Christians substantially agree. "Keep your smaller differences," said Calvin, when addressing the Lutheran Churches. "Let us have no discord on that account, but let us march in one solid column, under the banners of the Captain of our salvation, and with undivided counsels form the legions of the cross upon the territories of darkness and of death." "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ."

It is proper to judge a great convocation of the Church by this standard. Did the Pan-Presbyterian Council keep its smaller differences down? Did it show that it judged Christian brotherhood to be of more value than exact conformity to the standards? Did it make practical provision for joint and co-operative labors in the mission fields of the Church? These are topics which require a candid consideration.

The fact stares us in the face that this Council, as the previous one, in Edinburgh, met and parted without uniting, *as a body*, in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It seems that the Presbyterians who sing the psalms of David, and the Presbyterians who not only sing psalms but also hymns, which devout and spiritual, though uninspired, men have written, cannot agree, when set up as a spectacle before the world, to hold a joint communion service!

The following comment of a secular journal is what might have been anticipated:

The failure of the Council *as a body* to commune together is a matter of just lamentation to all who desire the Church's unity. It is vain to allege in justification of this failure that the various branches of the Church represented differ in regard to some doctrines and dogmas. The time is at hand when what is needed as the great deed befitting the manhood of the Church is that its sections, especially those bearing the same generic name, should resolve on union, *notwithstanding differences*—that they

should know how to debate these differences freely and earnestly, and yet at the same time be one in outward act as they are really one in inward spirit.

Do not the various delegates on the floor of the Alliance recognize their brethren and the constituencies they represent as sustaining a Christian relation and possessing a Christian character? If they do not, why do they fraternize with them at all? But if they do, why object to such close fellowship with them as would bring them together around the table of a common Redeemer? Why unite in common prayer, preaching and praise, and hold back from a joint participation of the ordinance without which all pretense of union is a mere sham?

How deeply seated are these psalm-singing differences is evidenced by one little circumstance. When the letter of greeting to the various Churches represented in the Council was read and approved—a letter which congratulates the Church on the flourishing state of religion—Dr. Schaff, after having taken the precaution to consult a member of the proper committee, proposed to sing the doxology, “Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;” and, pitching the tune, led the Council in a hearty singing of this strain of lofty praise. But Prof. D. R. Kerr, of Pittsburgh, who was in the chair, decided that the act “was an intrusion and an incivility,” and Dr. Schaff found it necessary to explain and apologize. It is to be presumed that every man who had been guilty of the grave offense of singing God’s praises in the language of Bishop Ken rather than in the words of King David laid his mouth in the dust. Did the Council, in these matters, follow the direction of Christ and the advice of Calvin? “It is high time,” some one has said, “for bodies of Christians to throw overboard their minor points of divergence and come together in solid column to battle with the enemy which they all have to dread, and for nothing have so much reason to dread as for their unjustifiable divisions.” We do not think that there is any thing to “throw overboard” except narrowness and bigotry. Every man is entitled to his opinions, but no man has a right to make his opinions the test of Christian brotherhood. We do not hesitate to affirm that the learning, wisdom, and piety of this Council did not accomplish so much for Christ and his cause, by all the able papers and reports which were presented, as would have been accomplished by a joint celebration of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. The Council was elevated on a platform, with

the eyes of the world fixed on it, to discover, not so much what it would do, as what spirit it possessed. If its members had said, "We are followers of the Prince of Peace, we are agreed in all important things, we certainly regard each other as Christians, and we can afford to sink our minor differences out of sight, and, whether we sing psalms or hymns, or both, we will come together around the table of our common Lord, and show to an infidel and pagan world that we are one in Christ Jesus," we believe that the melting and glorifying power of the Holy Spirit would have come on the Council, that their tears of grateful joy would have bedewed and gladdened the waste places of Zion, and that their shouts and halleluiahs would have sent their joyful echoes around the world.

Was this Pan-Presbyterian Council truly catholic in spirit? It professed to be. Professor Stephen Alexander, of Princeton, said :

There is an apostolic rule of Christian fellowship and recognition. It is found in 1 Cor. i, 2. It has been properly quoted several times in this Council. It tells who we are to recognize as a Christian brother : "Unto the Church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours." It is very simple and beautiful: "All that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." Whoever does that, according to the apostolic rule is my Christian brother.

Dr. Paxton, in the opening sermon, said :

We are not *the* Catholic Church, but a part of the great Universal Church of Jesus Christ, which has many members, who bear many names. Our name is Presbyterian. As another has expressed it, "Christian is our name, Presbyterian our surname." We are Presbyterian Christians, because we belong to Christ; Presbyterians, because we believe that the true original apostolic episcopacy was presbytery. Our principles and polity and methods of operation are all catholic, and may be reduced to practice with a wonderful facility under any circumstances and in any nationality.

Principal M'Vicar, of Montreal, said :

We hold that no one should presume in his denominational zeal to assert that Christ loved Presbyterians or Episcopalians or Congregationalists or Baptists or Methodists or any other body to the exclusion of the rest. The simple truth is that he redeemed the whole Church, all that are to be gathered finally into glory.

Dr. William H. Campbell, New Brunswick, N. J., of the Reformed Church, said :

There is one flock and one Shepherd, but there are many folds, and we in our Presbyterian fold must exercise love and brotherly kindness to every one that bears the image of Jesus Christ. Closer catholic unity is not going to diminish but increase our love and labor, our prayers and faith, and gifts for the Bible Society and the Tract Society and the Evangelical Alliance, and every other form of good work which calls for the unity of God's people.

Rev. A. F. Buscarlet, of Lausanne, Switzerland, said :

Where Christ, as the head of his Church, is firmly acknowledged, there the different members can harmoniously work together, and soon sympathize most truly with each other.

There were many other beautiful and forcible expressions of similar import, which we have not space to quote, but we put these on record that we may not be accused of misrepresenting the Council in the observations which we now have to offer. These professions of catholicity were put to the test in two notable instances. We refer to the case of the Cumberland Presbyterians, and to the proposal to send a deputation to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

Delegates from the Cumberland Presbyterian Church sought admission into the Council, and were refused. The Business Committee recommended the adoption of the following minute:

In the judgment of the Council the adoption of the Constitution of the Alliance by Churches should precede the admission of delegates, and in the absence of evidence that the Constitution has been adopted by either of these Churches, the delegates cannot be received.

Dr. Schaff asked if these delegates had refused to accept the Constitution. He also asked, "Has a single Reformed or Presbyterian Church in Europe, or Africa, or Asia, formally or informally, adopted the Constitution?" Hon. I. D. Jones, of Baltimore, made the very sensible suggestion that the sending of delegates to the Council was in itself an act of subscription to the Constitution, the provisions of which had been published to the Church for the last three years. Henry Day, Esq., of New York City, said :

I believe, brethren, that this is an Ecumenical Council—that we ought to bring in every body of the Presbyterian order and

polity that comes anywhere near us. I believe the Constitution was intended to be drawn so that it would let in any one in all these great assemblies that comes really near or is somewhat joined with us. Now when application is made for admittance by the Cumberland Presbyterians, who, you will remember, represent about a half million of the people of this country, they are refused. They are Presbyterians in polity and they are Presbyterians in doctrine. I think certainly they come as near the required standard as the Reformed Churches.

But all appeals for catholicity and liberal judgment were in vain. The Cumberland Presbyterians were kept out. The controlling reason was expressed by Dr. Watts, who said that the Church applying must have a creed in harmony with the consensus of the Reformed Confessions. Wherein do the Cumberland Presbyterians differ from the standards? They have made slight changes in the Creed, in the sections on "Free-Will," and on "Effectual Calling." Instead of the words "*elect* infants," they employ the words "*all* infants." They affirm, not that the saints *cannot* fall away, but that they *will* not. "Immutability of the decree of election," as one of the reasons for "Final Perseverance," they have omitted. For the chapter on Decrees in the Westminster Confession, they have substituted the following :

1. God did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, determine to act, or to bring to pass, what should be for his own glory.

2. God has not decreed any thing concerning his creature man, contrary to his revealed will or written word, which declares his sovereignty over all his creatures, the ample provision he has made for their salvation, his determination to punish the finally impenitent with everlasting destruction, and to save the true believer with an everlasting salvation.

It is claimed that there are other branches of the Church, as, for instance, the United Presbyterians of Scotland, which have made quite as serious changes in the subscription to the Confession, that the Westminster articles are not co-extensive with Presbyterianism, and that a more liberal interpretation of the Confession must be allowed, or other bodies, as well as the Cumberland Presbyterians, will be excluded from the General Council of the Church.

We have still another illustration of the catholicity of this ecumenical assembly of the Presbyterian Church. On the



third day of the session Rev. Henry A. Nelson, D.D., of Geneva, N. Y., a former Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, and a man of deserved repute, in his denomination and beyond it, for learning and piety, offered the following resolution:

*Whereas*, We are informed that our Christian brethren of the Methodist Churches are to hold an Ecumenical Council in London in the year 1881:

*Resolved*, That two ministers and two ruling elders be appointed to convey to that body the fraternal salutations of this Alliance, with the assurance of our hearty fellowship with them in the cause of our Redeemer and Lord.

On motion of Dr. Breed, of Philadelphia, the resolution was referred to the Business Committee. Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., of New York City, made the report of the Committee, recommending the adoption of the following minute: "That inasmuch as the Constitution of our Alliance makes no provision for reciprocating such correspondence, and we are not apprised of the wishes of other Councils in that regard, it is not practicable at present to make such appointments as are contemplated in the resolutions."

Dr. Nelson stated that he had satisfactory, though, in the nature of the case, of necessity unofficial, assurances that such action as his resolution proposed would be acceptable to the Methodist Churches.

Principal Cairns, of Scotland; Hon. W. E. Dodge, of New York; Hon. Isaac D. Jones, of Baltimore; and Rev. William Reid, of Toronto, spoke at length, expressing warm commendation of the idea of fraternizing with sister Churches. The whole matter was then sent back to the Business Committee, together with a preamble to the resolution offered by Dr. Bronson, recognizing the "earnest zeal and faithful works of the Methodist Church in all Christian lands." In a subsequent report, submitted by Dr. Calderwood, it was recommended that a letter of friendly greeting and good wishes should be sent from this Council by the clerk indicating our desire for the success of that meeting. The recommendation was agreed to.

The two reasons given for the adverse report on Dr. Nelson's resolution are neither of them worthy of respect. The first

reason presented is, "The Constitution of our Alliance makes no provision for reciprocating such correspondence." Well, suppose it does not. Does it prohibit such correspondence? Is not that precisely one of the things which may be left to the sober judgment and fraternal impulse of the Council itself? But this is not, by any means, the whole strength of the case. The preamble to the Constitution—the instrument under which the committee takes refuge—contains these memorable words:

In forming this Alliance the Presbyterian Churches do not mean to change their fraternal relations with other Churches; but will be ready, as heretofore, to join with them in Christian fellowship and in advancing the cause of the Redeemer, on the general principle maintained and taught in the Reformed Confession—that the Church of God on earth, though composed of many members, is one body in the communion of the Holy Ghost, of which body Christ is the Supreme Head and the Scriptures alone are the infallible law.

Any one can see that the conclusion of the Committee is not in harmony with this grand, glowing, and truly catholic declaration.

The other reason given is a lack of knowledge in regard to the wishes of other councils. But it was proposed to send a deputation to a council called, but not yet convened, and which could not be expected to declare its wishes in advance of its organization. There was every reason to conclude that a deputation would be gratefully received. The final determination to send a fraternal letter is better than nothing, and yet what assurance had the committee that a fraternal letter would be received any more graciously than a deputation? On the very day on which the Council assembled, Professor E. D. Morris, D.D., of Lane Theological Seminary, published in the New York "Independent" a communication in which he advocated what this Quarterly proposed in its October number, in an article prepared four months before its publication, namely, "A Parliament of Protestantism," to "promote great causes by joint action"—causes too great to be confined within denominational limits, and requiring the joint exertions of all the followers of the Lord Jesus for their successful establishment in the earth. Speaking of the essential unity of the Church of God on earth, Professor Morris adds:

Will it not be a fitting expression of that sentiment on the part of the Alliance if, during its present session, a suitable delegation should be chosen to represent in the proposed Conference the confederated Presbyterianism of the world, and to convey to those there assembled the assurance of fraternal regard? Such an act would not only be in itself a graceful and brotherly thing, but would also become a conspicuous attestation before all men of the reality and worth of true Christian fellowship. Such a delegation would, doubtless, be most cordially welcomed, and its assurances would, beyond question, receive a cordial and enthusiastic response. Confederated Methodism would rejoice to grasp, with characteristic fervor, the extended hand of confederated Presbyterianism; and Evangelical Protestantism the world over would rejoice in the act.

The Alliance did not meet this expectation, and, as we believe, did not express the convictions of the leading and best minds in the Presbyterian Church, especially in this country. The fraternal letter which the clerk of the Alliance was directed to send to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference will, doubtless, be kindly received, and will be responded to in like manner and with hearty interest. Beyond that, of course, nothing will be expected of the Conference. The world moves slowly, but it moves, and as an admired Presbyterian divine said, "Christ is greater than Council or Conference," and a confederated Protestantism will yet stand, in the unity of the Spirit, and the strength of a common purpose, against the assaults of unbelief and misbelief, for the conversion of the world to Christ.

The interest in the Pan-Presbyterian Council rose to its culmination when the missionary work was considered; for in respect to the importance of this work the Church is a unity, and in its accomplishment, more emphatically than anywhere else, is the necessity of co-operation clearly seen. The report of the Council's Committee on Missions presented for consideration the following points:

1. Home arrangement for the management of missions.
2. Funds and modes of raising them.
3. Means adopted to awaken missionary zeal.
4. Supply and training of missionaries.
5. Modes of missionary operation.
6. Relation of missions to the home Churches.
7. Mutual relations of missions abroad.
8. Co-operation at home on behalf of missions.
9. Glance at fields still unoccupied.

The following facts were also noticed: Regions lately inaccessible are now thrown open to missionary labors; facilities of intercommunication are bringing the ends of the earth together; the supply of missionaries has never failed; an important portion of missionary labor, at home and abroad, is done by Christian women; native ministers must, for the sake of economy and efficiency, be trained for their work in their own lands; and for all the highest aims and ends of evangelism there must be associate missionary endeavors in the foreign field. "There is something sublime and grand," said Dr. Wilson, "in the idea that all the varied branches of our venerable Presbyterian Church should be found earnestly working, not to extend and perpetuate their own peculiarities of worship and government, but to rear one simple, pure, scriptural Presbyterian Church for each one of the great sections of the unevangelized world."

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent a communication to the Council asking for a consideration of the question "as to the mode in which missionaries of different Churches laboring in the same or contiguous fields may be associated with each other so as most efficiently to secure, in harmonious co-operation, the ends contemplated in missionary work." Dr. Hutton, of Paisley, Scotland, referring to this communication, argued that, where mission Presbyteries do not exist, Presbyterian Churches should act in conjunction with Churches of other evangelical denominations in mission work in order to extend the sweep of their co-operative enterprise. Too often, the speaker said, different denominations in the mission field were looked upon as jealous camps. Dr. Murray Mitchell stated that there is a project pending in China which has been advocated by one of the leading Scottish missionaries, as well as by one of the Presbyterian missionaries, for a general Presbyterian college in that country, and the same idea has been suggested to our brethren in India. Rev. Mr. Stout, of Japan, informed the Council that they had one Presbyterian Church in Japan instead of three, and that the Japan Presbyterian Church had a native constitution; that, by means of this organization, they had been able to establish a common theological school; and that, having a common Church and one theological

school, they were enabled to present a common front to heathenism.

In view of these facts, overtures and accounts from mission fields, the Council adopted a report on "Co-operating with Foreign Missions," recognizing "the strong increasing desire among the Churches in connection with it that some suitable measures should be taken to secure, as far as practicable, co-operation in the work of foreign missions;" affirming that such desire should be regarded "as one of the most hopeful signs of the future;" and suggesting to the Reformed Churches the importance of further organizing and unifying their evangelistic labors, "in the several fields in which a plurality of Presbyterian missions are contiguously established;" and to carry into effect these suggestions to the Churches, the Council appointed two large committees, one for the United States and Canada, and one for Europe and other places not otherwise provided for; and the work of these committees it defined as follows: "It shall be the duty of these committees to communicate in such manner as they may deem best with the Churches assigned to them, and report the result to the next Council. Should it become manifest in the meantime that plans of co-operation to some extent can be agreed upon among some of the Churches interested, the said committees are authorized and requested to give such aid in carrying them into effect as may be found practicable."

It may reasonably be expected that increased unity, efficiency, and success in all the mission fields of the Presbyterian Church will result from the wise and earnest action of the Triennial Council, and from the advice and practical aid of its permanent supervisory Committee.

There are several other important matters which came before the Council, to which we had designed to refer, but our space forbids. The utility and advantage of such a general representative assembly was well expressed by Dr. Paxton in his introductory discourse. He said:

The smallest Presbyterian body struggling under discouragement in the most distant country must be made to feel that it does not stand alone, but is linked in effective sympathy with a great family of vigorous Churches who feel for it and will act with it in its time of need. No Church must be per-

mitted to have a feeling of solitary orphanage. The brethren must take home from this family council the salutations of the Churches to each other, and such messages of love and sympathy as will make the discouraged lift their faces from the dust, and thank God and take courage. So, too, the Churches and brethren laboring in the great centers and bearing the burdens of heavy responsibilities must be made to feel that in this strain and struggle they have the support of brethren and Churches who feel and work with them and for them, and that from the vast family all over the earth prayers are going up for their success.

Dr. Paxton insisted, in an eloquent strain, that this Christian unity could not be secured by mechanical appliances, by resolutions, or "ecclesiastical pressure," but that it must come from within, that it must be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and that it must find manifestation in a warm Christian affection.

To the ensuing Methodist Ecumenical Conference this Pan-Presbyterian Council will be both a beacon and an example. It furnishes both warning and instruction. It is a chart which reveals at once the shoals and the deep-sea soundings. It will be inexcusable to repeat its errors; it will be stupidity or bigotry not to discern the noble pattern furnished, and not to profit by its consideration. The Conference can afford to be less learned, metaphysical, and elaborate, but it cannot afford to be less earnest, spiritual, and catholic. It will be advisable to give more time to religious exercises, to the narration of personal experience in the things of God, and to services of consecration, prayer, and praise. Let the Holy Eucharist be duly administered, and the doxology be frequently sung. The Conference will not meet to magnify Methodism, but Christ, and to devise better methods of doing his work in all the earth. That it may be successful in its great object, let the whole Church offer constant prayer to Almighty God.



## ART. IV.—ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM.

*The Religion of the Parsis.* By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D. Boston. 1878.

THE religion of Zoroaster is among the oldest of the religions of the world, and one of the eight great ethnic religions which possess a sacred literature. It is the religion of our kindred at a time shortly after our Aryan ancestors began their migrations from their primitive home. It originated probably not less than twelve hundred years before the Christian era, became a national religion, and, in spite of revolutions, conquests, and persecutions, is still professed by a small Parsi community in India and a few devotees in their fatherland. The religion of Zoroaster is most intimately connected with the religion of Moses and the prophets of the Old Testament. The Magi are mentioned by Jeremiah, chap. xxxix, 3. The "Chief of the Magi" (*Rab-mag*) was in the retinue of Nebuchadnezzar at his entry into Jerusalem. Ezekiel speaks probably of Zoroastrians when he says there were "about five and twenty men" standing "at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar," who "put the branch to their nose;" "with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshiped the sun toward the east." Ezek. viii, 16, 17.

The Bible never classifies the Persians among idolaters. Isaiah calls Cyrus "the anointed of the Lord whose right hand the Lord has holden, to subdue nations before him;" the Lord's "shepherd" to carry out his counsels; "a ravenous bird called from the east, the man that executeth the Lord's counsel from a far country." Isa. xlv, 1; xlv, 28; xlv, 11.

Herodotus declares that the Magi worshiped no idols, (chaps. cxxxi, cxxxii.) We shall find their own sacred writings confirming this testimony. Magi came from the East to worship the infant Jesus at Bethlehem. Matt. ii, 1.

In the famous Behistun trilingual inscription, discovered by Major Rawlinson in 1835, consisting in the first four columns (omitting the fifth half column of thirty-five lines, which has been but imperfectly deciphered) of three hundred and seventy-six lines in an Aryan, a Semitic, and a Scythic language, the name of Ormazd occurs sixty-seven times. Darius says, "By

the grace of Ormazd I am king;" "By the grace of Ormazd I hold this empire;" "Ormazd brought help to me;" "I prayed to Ormazd;" "By the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel army;" "Under the favor of Ormazd have I always acted;" "Ormazd is my witness;" "May Ormazd be a friend to thee." A true devotional spirit which may be favorably compared with the spirit disclosed in like passages of history in the Old Testament, runs through the whole account.\*

Until within a little more than a century our knowledge concerning the laws, customs, and religion of Persia came principally from classic sources. Modern Persian literature is poetic and traditional. Mohammedan writers give only the conquest of the country and the extinction of its religion A. D. 636.

Of the Greek writers who wrote concerning the religion of the Persians, prominent were Ktesias, (B. C. 400,) Deinon, (B. C. 350,) Theopompos of Chios, (B. C. 300,) and Hermippos of Smyrna, (B. C. 250.) Only fragments of their writings have been preserved by Plutarch, Diogenes of Laerte, and Pliny. Theopompos in his eighth book of the history of King Philip of Macedonia, "On Miraculous Things," treats specially of the doctrines of the Magi. Hermippos wrote a book, "On the Magi," which must have been of great value. Pliny says that Hermippos investigated with great care and labor the sacred books of the Zoroastrians, which were said to comprise two millions of verses. The loss of such a work is to be deeply regretted. The Greeks and Romans derived most of their information concerning the Zoroastrian religion from Theopompos and Hermippos.

To escape the persecutions of the Mohammedans, the adherents of this religion left their native land and settled in Western India. Here the nations of Europe came in contact with them, and in the seventeenth century manuscripts of their sacred books were brought to Europe, but were valued only as curiosities. In A. D. 1700 Hyde, a celebrated scholar of Oxford, published *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum*, which contained much and valuable information gathered from many authorities concerning their religion. But Hyde, although having access to original manuscripts, could

\* "Records of the Past," vol. i, pp. 113-129.

not read a word of them, and hence his work cannot be considered an authority.

In 1754 the enthusiasm of Anquetil-Duperron, a young Frenchman, pursuing oriental studies at the Royal Library, was aroused at the sight of a Parsi manuscript, and he determined to visit India and Persia and collect manuscripts, bring them back, translate them, and give the results to the world. He enlisted as a soldier in the service of the Indian Company, marched out of Paris "to the lugubrious sound of an ill-mounted drum," landed at Pondicherry in 1755, steadfastly kept to his purpose, studied hard, collected manuscripts, returned to Paris in 1762, and in 1771 published his translation of the so-called "Zend-Avesta."

The authenticity of these sacred books was much discussed. Even the great jurist and oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, believed that they were forged and that Duperron had been imposed upon by the priests from whom he received instruction in the Avestan and Pahlavi languages.

Richardson, the celebrated Persian lexicographer, also held the opinion that these languages were forgeries. Erasmus Rask, a Danish scholar, in 1826, in a pamphlet "On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language," proved its close relationship with the Sanscrit. Eugene Burnouf, Professor in the Collège de France, (1833-46,) laid the foundation of Avestan grammar and etymology; proved the translation of Duperron, however valuable for affording a general idea of Avestan literature, yet utterly inaccurate and incorrect; and gave the first real translation of two chapters of the Yasna.

Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, edited and published the first complete edition of the Zend-Avesta in 1852-1854. Martin Haug edited, translated, and explained *The Five Gáthás*, (two vols., Leipzig, 1858-1860,) and did much in the interest of Zend scholarship (1852-1874) in other translations and philological works. His latest work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, and from which we take the translations which we use, furnishes the most complete and reliable account of Zoroastrianism with which we are acquainted in the English language. Spiegel, Windischmann, West, Darmesteter, Justi, and other investigators have entered this field of research, and the scriptures of the Parsis, of which, a little

more than a hundred years ago, no man living could read a word, may soon be accessible to the general reader.

The scriptures of the Parsis are usually called Zend-Avesta by Europeans and Americans. The Pahlavi books call them *Avisták va Zand*, Avesta and Zend, or "Text and Commentary," both being written, probably, in the Avestan language. "Avesta," originally confined to the sacred texts ascribed to Zoroaster, afterward acquired an extended meaning, so as to embrace at the present time all writings in the Avestan language. It may be derived from *a+vista*, (*vista* is pluperfect of *vid*, "to know,") and hence would mean "what is known," or "knowledge;" or "what is announced," or "declaration," thus approaching very nearly the meaning of "revelation," like Veda, the name of the sacred scriptures of the Brahmins. When the Avesta language became unintelligible, a translation of these scriptures was made by priests of the Sassanian period into their vernacular, the Pahlavi. In later times the term "Zend" has referred to this translation. There are passages in the present Avesta which are supposed to be remnants of the old Zend. Zend is from the root *zan*, "to know," so that it means "knowledge," or science. Pázand meant originally *re-explanation*, and some passages in the Avesta may be the old Pázand in the Avestan language; "but at present the term Pázand is applied only to purely Iranian versions of Pahlavi texts, whether written in the Avestan or Persian characters, and to such parts of Pahlavi texts as are not Huzvârish." \* This word is applied to the Semitic elements in Pahlavi. The ancient Persians received their writing from a Semitic people. For Semitic words were translated bodily into Iranian writing as logograms, and pronounced as Pahlavi words of the same meaning; as though we were to write the Latin word "equus," but always pronounce it *horse*. These explanations of terms, in which I have followed Haug, seem to be necessary to the reading of works connected with Parsi studies.

The sacred writings of the Zoroastrians were very voluminous, but were greatly reduced when Alexander, at the instigation of the Athenian courtesan Thais, (according to the account, which may be somewhat traditional,) in a drunken frolic burned the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, thus destroying the

\* "The Religion of the Parsis," p. 122.

historic and sacred archives. By fragmentary collections this loss was partially repaired, when the Mohammedan persecutions still more effectually scattered or destroyed the sacred books. The names, however, remain with short summaries of their contents. These summaries, in the absence of the works themselves, are of great value.

According to accounts which remain to us, the whole scriptures were divided into twenty-one books, called *Nasks*, each containing an original text and commentary. Each *nask* was indexed under a particular word of the most sacred Zoroastrian formula: "Yathâ ahû vairîyô, athâ ratush, ashâd chid hachâ, Vanhêush dazdâ mananhô shkyaothnanam anhêush mazdâi, Khshathremchâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadhad vâstârem." Haug translates: "As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master, (spiritual guide,) for the sake of righteousness, (to be) the giver of the good thoughts, of the actions of life toward Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor."\*

The *Nasks* were divided into three classes, to correspond with the three lines of this formula. Several descriptions of the contents of the *Nasks* have survived. They contain advice concerning prayer and all religious services; they teach virtue, truth, heedfulness, reverence, law, judgment, wisdom, knowledge, purity; they teach the value of good works and meditation, peace and obedience, duties to magistrates, and how kings should rule; they discourse concerning the creation of all things, good and evil, ranks among men, agriculture and culture of trees, medicine, astronomy, botany, philosophy; charities, and the merit of reciting scripture formulæ; the attributes of Ahuramazda, and final deliverance from hell; bringing mankind from good to evil, and the preservation and protection of cities; the good and evil influence of the stars; keeping evil spirits out of the heart, and the attainment of spiritual life; purification, care of the dead, the resurrection, future existence, rewards and punishments, things concerning the world to come, and other similar matters.

Of these *Nasks*, but one, namely, the *Vendidad*, is extant complete. Of two or three others some fragments remain, but in the *Zend-Avesta*, as used at the present time, there are other

"The Religion of the Parsis," p. 141.

books, such as the Yasna and Visparad. The Yashts also are not found in the Nasks, unless, as has been maintained, they are contained in the fourteenth and twenty-first.

The Yasna is the most sacred book of the whole Zend-Avesta. Haug suggests that the Yasna and Visparad may occupy with respect to the Nasks "the same rank as the Vedas in the Brahminical literature do in reference to the Shâstras and Purânas." The contents of these books show remarkable literary activity on the part of the ancient Persians. The texts now extant and published in Westergaard's edition are the following: Yasna, Visparad, Vendidad; twenty-four Yashts, including fragments of two Nasks; fourteen short prayers of various kinds, called Afrîngân, Nyâyish, and Gâh; nine miscellaneous fragments, and the Sîrôzah, or calendar. Not a voluminous literature to be sure, but priceless to him who is interested in the history of races when they think their first thoughts and breathe their first prayers to God.

*Yasna* is from the root *yaz*, which means "to worship by means of sacrifice and prayers." At present it consists of seventy-two chapters. There are two parts, which differ considerably in contents and language. The old Yasna is written in the Gâtha dialect, which differs from the Avestan not only in the lengthening of final vowels and the separation of certain syllables into two syllables, which we may suppose to be the result of chanting, but in other respects, showing it to be at least one or two hundred years older than the Avestan. All parts written in the Gâtha dialect have formed originally a separate book, and this book was already considered sacred when the other scriptures were written. These original writings are mentioned several times in the Vendidad with the meaning of "scripture." The later Yasna is in the ordinary Avestan language.

*Gâtha* is from the root *gai*, "to sing," and hence means "song." "The Gâthas, five in number, are comparatively small collections of metrical compositions, containing short prayers, songs, and hymns, which generally express philosophical and abstract thoughts about metaphysical subjects."\* These Gâthas contain all that was revealed to Zoroaster. He learned them when in an ecstatic state from the choir of the archan-

\* "The Religion of the Parsis," pp. 142, 143.



gels. The Gátha dialect may be the language of the native district or city of Zoroaster.

The Visparad in twenty-three chapters is in the usual Avestan language, and in contents resembles the first part of the later Yasna. The Yashts, twenty in number, are collections of prayer and praise. Some of them are highly poetical, and contain in many cases metrical verses to be traced to the days of the bards of Media. Unlike the Yasna and Visparad, the Yashts celebrate the praises of some particular divine being or class of beings, instead of invoking all these beings promiscuously. The Vendidad, in twenty-two chapters, is the civil, criminal, and religious code of laws of the Zoroastrians.

The five Gáthas contain the teachings of Zoroaster in their purity. He is expressly mentioned as their author, (Yas. lvii, 8,) while nowhere is he said to be the author of other sacred writings. He speaks of himself in the first person, and acts as a man conscious of being commissioned of God. He teaches a pure religion, and exhorts his countrymen to forsake idolatry and worship the one only and true God. The later Yasnas are not regarded as the genuine works of Zoroaster, but rather of some of his earliest disciples. They descend somewhat from his high and pure principles, make concessions to idolatry, reform some of the old sacrifices, and invoke the ancient *devas*, whom Zoroaster charged with the origination of all evil and sin. The Visparad ranks with the later Yasna, and the Vendidad is still farther removed from the purity of the five Gáthas. The Yashts are most modern of all. The Gáthas were composed about B. C. 1200; the Vendidad, B. C. 1000-900; the later Yasna, B. C. 800-700; the Pazand portion of the Vendidad, B. C. 500; the Yashts, B. C. 450-350.

The Zoroastrian religion in its origin was a protest against Brahmanism. This is evident from several considerations. *Deva* in the Brahmanical literature is the name of the objects of Hindu worship; in the Zend-Avesta it is the general name for evil spirit or devil. The Vendidad is *vi-daēvōddāta*, "what is given against the devas." *Asura* is the name of the Parsi god in Ahura mazda; in the older parts of the Rigveda it is used in a good sense, but in the later Brahmanical literature it is applied to the most bitter enemies of the Hindu devas. In the Yajurveda seven meters are called *āsuri*. These are found in

the Gâtha literature. *Indra*, the chief god of the Vedic times, is a demon among the Parsis, second only to Ahriman, (Angrô-mainyush.) The latter the Parsis call "devil of devils." The Brahmins call him "god of gods."

However, some of the Vedic devas are transformed into angels in the Zend-Avesta. The close connection of these religions is also shown where there is no evidence of hostility, not only in the names of gods, but also in the names and legends of heroes, in matters connected with sacrificial worship, and in various other particulars. Brahmanism and Zoroastrianism, then, were originally one religion. The causes of the conflict which led to their separation we may gather from the Gâthas. After the migration of the Aryan tribes from their original home, they long led a pastoral life, paying little attention to the cultivation of the soil. This was their condition throughout the earlier Vedic period, while they lived in the upper Penjâb, whence they migrated to Hindustan proper. When they reached the highlands of Bactria, the Iranians, tired of a wandering life, formed permanent settlements and became agricultural. The other Aryans became hostile, and made many hostile excursions into the settlements for the sake of booty.\* Before entering upon these excursions they besought the assistance of Indra by Soma sacrifices. Their religion, hence, became an object of hatred to the Iranians, and they came to look upon it as the source of all wickedness, and instituted the beneficent religion of Ahuramazda, which forever separated them from their Aryan and deva-worshipping brethren. The Zoroastrian, Mazdayasnian, or Parsi religion was not originated by Zoroaster. He alludes to old revelations, and praises the "fire priests" as possessed of great wisdom. (Yas. xlvi, 3, 6.) He teaches reverence and respect to the *Angra* or *Angiras* of the Vedas. (Yas. xliii, 15.) These Angiras are often connected with the Atharvans; *âtharva* is the general name of the priestly order in the Zend-Avesta. The Angiras and Atharvans are the authors of the Atharvaveda, which greatly resembles the Yashts and Vendidad. To the Saoshyantô, or "fire priests," perhaps identical with the Atharvans, it is said the Ahura religion was revealed, (Yas. xii, 7.) Several centuries may have elapsed before the appearance of

\* Vend. Fars. 1 and 2; Yas. xxxiii, xlvi.

Zoroaster. He completed the separation of the hostile Aryan elements, established new laws, and absorbed the old religion of the fire priests (he himself seems to have been one of their number) into the true Parsi religion, and hence became its real founder.

But little is known concerning the life of Zoroaster. Greek and Roman accounts are legendary. Only in the *Yasna* does he appear as a real historic character. He belonged to the Spitama family. The Hêchadaspas appear to have been his nearest relatives. (*Yas.* xlvi, 15.) His father's name was Pôurnushaspa. (*Vend.* xix, 4, 6.) One daughter is mentioned under two names, Haêchadaspânâ Spitâmi. His surname was Zarathushtra, which the Greeks changed to Zaratrades or Zoroastres, the Romans to Zoroaster, the Persians and Parsis to Zardosht. This name seems at first to have designated the office of high-priest, and, after having been worn by Spitama as high-priest, clung to him as pre-eminent in that office. When there were several high-priests in a district or province, Zarathushtrôtémô was sometimes used to designate the office of "the highest Zarathushtra." There might, then, have been many Zarathushtras before Zoroaster and during his life, yet the one called Spitama was alone the founder of the Parsi religion. His home was in Bactria. He lived probably not later than B. C. 1000. We place him B. C. 1200, as more probable.

Zoroaster was undoubtedly a great soul who enjoyed a large share of divine illumination. He passed through great spiritual struggles. The *Vendidad* preserves traditions which may refer to such struggles. Drukhsh, an evil spirit in the service of Ahriman, attempted to destroy him, but Zoroaster repeated the most sacred formula, Yâtha-ahû-vairyô, and the evil spirit was defeated; Zoroaster threatens the destruction of the evils produced by the demons of Ahriman. Ahriman tempts him to curse the Mazdayasnian religion, with the promise of the fortune of the traditional hero-king Vadhaghana. Zoroaster replies: "I will not curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, not (if my) body, not (if my) soul, not (if my) life should part asunder." He will smite the evils of Ahriman with the words of Mazda.\*

The early Zoroastrian religion was strictly monotheistic.

\* *Vend. Fars.*, xix, 1, 2, 5-9.

The Saoshyantô, or "fire priests," worshiped good spirits, called Ahuras, "the living ones," of whom those who possessed creative powers may have been called Mazdâonhô, "joint creators," or "creators of all." Zoroaster reduced this plurality of gods to unity, and called the one supreme being Ahura-mazdâo, of which Mazdâo was the chief name, and Ahura an adjectival epithet. Both words were at first inflected, (in which, however, there was a difference of custom,) but afterward were united in a compound, Ahuramazda; at the time of the Achaemenians, Aûramazdâ; in the Sassanian times, Aûhar-mazdi; in modern Persian, Hôrmazd or Ormazd. Their conception of Ahuramazda was quite identical with the idea of Jehovah held by Job and other early characters of the Old Testament.

Zoroaster was told by Ahuramazda that the best way to guard against evil spirits was to utter his different names. He then gave twenty names, among which we find: "I am" "the living one," "I am the wisdom," "I am who I am, Mazda." These cannot but remind us of some of the names of Jehovah as revealed to men.

Ahuramazda is creator of all things, most munificent spirit, righteous, wisdom, everlasting, eternal, good, brilliant, glorious, happy, the essence of truth, manifesting his life in his works, primeval spirit, faithful, generous, father of the good mind, "having his own light," (Yas. xxxi, 7;) "originator of all the best things, of the spirit of nature, (*gâush*), of righteousness, of the luminaries, and the self-shining brightness which is in the luminaries," (Yas. xii. 1;) giver of health, truth, piety, earthly good, and immortality; the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the evil.

Zoroaster was evidently staggered by the problem of evil. In attempting to solve it, he gave to one God two spirits, a beneficent spirit and a hurtful spirit.

Spentô-mainyush, and Angrô-mainyush, (Yas. xix, 9; lvii, 2,) "the two creators," "the two masters." These two spirits fought against the devas, but not against each other. "Spentô-mainyush was regarded as the author of all that is bright and shining, of all that is good and useful in nature, while Angrô-mainyush called into existence all that is dark and apparently noxious. Both are as inseparable as day and night, and, though opposed to each other, are indispensable for the preservation of creation.

The beneficent spirit appears in the blazing flame, the presence of the hurtful one is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. Spēntō-mainyush has created the light of day, and Angrō-mainyush the darkness of night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them to sleep. Life is produced by Spēntō-mainyush, but extinguished by Angrō-mainyush, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enables her to rise into immortality and everlasting life."\*

The transition from this form of Monotheism to the later dualism was easy. Spēntō-mainyush, "the beneficent spirit," was taken as a name of Ahuramazda himself, and Angrō-mainyush, "the hurtful spirit," was opposed to Ahuramazda. Hence arose the Zoroastrian notion of God and Devil, each independent and waging war against the other. Certain abstract ideas representing the gifts of Ahuramazda were personified and became archangels, forming the celestial council over which he presided. These were Vohu-manô, Asha-vahishta, Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-Armaiti, Haurvatât, and Ameretât, meaning originally, respectively, "good mind," "the best truth," "wealth," "devotion and piety," "health," and "immortality."

Separate from the Ameshaspentas or archangels stood the archangel, Sraosha, who seems to have been a kind of mediator between God and man, the great teacher of the good religion. He points out the way to heaven and judges human actions after death; at least, a part in these offices seems to have been assigned to him. Like Ahuramazda, Angrō-mainyush (Ahriman) has an infernal council over which he presides.

Fravardin Yasht is dedicated to the praise of the *Frohars*, in the Avesta *Fravashi*, in the Cuneiform Inscriptions *Fravartish*, which means protectors. Every being, living, dead, or still unborn, has its own guardian spirit, Fravashi. Originally they represented only the departed souls of men, like the *manes* of the Romans, and the *pitaras* of the Brahmans. We may compare them with the *ideas* of Plato.

In favor of a primitive Parsi Monotheism we may consider such passages as the following:

In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base. And these two spirits united created the first (the mate-

\* The "Religion of the Parsis," p. 304.

rial things,) one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. . . . Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. . . . You cannot belong to both of them. (Yas. xxx, 3-6.)

Although Haug urges a primitive Monotheism, his translations, as may be seen above, do not make this as plain as could have been desired. (See, however, Yas. xlviii, 4, and other passages.)

If you choose the good spirit it will be well :

Ahuramazda gives through the beneficent spirit, appearing in the best thought, and in rectitude of action and speech, to this world, (universe,) perfection and immortality, wealth and devotion. From his most beneficent spirit all good has sprung in the words which are pronounced by the tongue of the Good Mind, (*Vohá-manô*), and the works wrought by the hands of Armaiti, (spirit of the earth.) By means of such knowledge Mazda himself is the father of all rectitude in thought, word, and deed. (Yas. xlvii, 1, 2.)

Ahuramazda created the world in six periods in the following order : In the first period heaven was created, in the second the waters, in the third the earth, in the fourth the trees, in the fifth the animals, and in the sixth man.

There was a golden age in the reign of Yima, "the most sun-like of men," during which men and cattle were free from death, water and trees free from drought, food inexhaustible ; there was "neither cold nor heat, neither decay nor death, nor malice produced by the demons ; father and son walked forth, each fifteen years old in appearance." (Yas. ix, 4, 5.)

Besides the doctrines we have named, we may mention among the other original doctrines of Zoroaster, the following : The two-fold nature of man as body and soul, the two-fold origin of knowledge as heavenly and earthly, human responsibility, the value of prayer, angelic mediatorship, heaven and hell, immortality, a general judgment, future rewards and punishments according to the works, the resurrection of the body, the final overthrow of evil, and the renovation of all things.

A few quotations will give a fair idea of Zoroaster's teachings on some of these points :

I will proclaim, as the greatest of all things, that one should be good, praising only righteousness. Ahuramazda will hear those who are bent on furthering (all that is good.) . . . All that have been living, and will be living, subsist by means of his



bounty only. The soul of the righteous attains to immortality, but that of the wicked man has everlasting punishment. Such is the rule of Ahuramazda, whose the creatures are.\*

The soul of the dead during three days sits near the head chanting the *Gâtha Ushtavaiti*, and experiences as much of pleasure each day as all that which it had experienced when a living existence.

On the passing away of the third night, as the dawn appears the soul of the righteous man appears, passing through plants and perfumes. To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, a sweet scent, more sweet-scented than other winds. Then, inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the righteous considers: Whence blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? Advancing with the wind there appears to him what is his own religion, (i. e., religious merit,) in the shape of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, erect, tall, high-bosomed, graceful, noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful in (its) limbs (lit. growth) as the most beautiful creatures. Then the soul of the righteous man spoke to her, asking, what maiden art thou whom I have thus seen as yet the most beautiful of maidens in form? Then answered him his own religion, I am, O youth! thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds, (and) good religion, who am thy own religion in thy own self. Every one has loved thee for such greatness and goodness and beauty and perfume and triumph and resistance to foes, as thou appearest to me.

The soul of the righteous then advances four steps and reaches the four grades in heaven—good thought, good word, good action, and the eternal luminaries. Before entering heaven, the angel Vohuman has given him a cup of *Zaremaya* oil, which has made him oblivious of all worldly concerns and prepared him for eternal happiness.

The course of the wicked is directly opposite in all its stages till he reaches the fourth or lowest grade in hell, "eternal glooms."†

The *Vendidad* adds somewhat more to this account:

After a man is dead, at daybreak after the third night, he reaches *Mithra*, rising above the mountains resplendent with their own rightful luster. The demon *Vizareshô* by name carries the soul bound toward the country of the wicked *Deva*-worshipping men. It goes on the time-worn paths, which

\* *Gâtha Ushtavaiti*, Yas. xlv, 6, 7.

† *Hādōkht Nask*, Yt. xxii, 1-36.

are for the wicked and which are for the righteous, to the Chinvad bridge, created by Mazda, and right, where they ask the consciousness and soul their conduct in the settlements, (i. e., world.) She, the beautiful, well-formed, strong (and) well-grown, comes with the dog, with the register, with children, with resources, with skillfulness. She dismisses the sinful soul of the wicked into the glooms (hell.) She meets the souls of the righteous when crossing the (celestial mountain) Harô-berezaiti, (Alborz,) and guides over the Chinvad bridge. Vohumanô (the archangel Bahman) rises from a golden throne; Vohumanô exclaims: "How hast thou come hither to us, O righteous one! from the perishable life to the imperishable life? The souls of the righteous proceed joyfully to Ahuramazda, to the Ameshaspentas, to the golden throne, to paradise (Garô-nemâna)."

Garô-nemâna is "the house of song," with which we may compare the Christian idea of heaven.

A splendor originally created by Ahuramazda attaches itself to the dead, causing them to rise.

This splendor attaches itself to the hero (who is to rise out of the number) of prophets (called *Saoshyantô*) and to his companions, in order to make life everlasting, undecayable, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, forever existing, forever vigorous, full of power, (at the time) when the dead shall rise again, and imperishableness of life shall commence, making life lasting by itself, (without further support.) All the world will remain for eternity in a state of righteousness; the devil will disappear from all those places where he used to attack the righteous man in order to kill (him); and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.†

Garô-demâna, "house of hymns," heaven, where the angels sing hymns, is the abode of Ahuramazda and the righteous dead. (Yas. li, 15.) Another name is *ahv vahishta*, afterward shortened to *vahishta* only; modern Persian *bahisht*, "the best life," "paradise."

Drûjô-demâna, "house of destruction," hell, is the abode of the bad, especially the devotees of the Deva religion. (Yas. xlvi, 11.)

*Chinvad* bridge which the pious alone can pass, the wicked falling from it into hell, is also mentioned in the Gâthas. (Yas. xlvi, 10, 11.)

The resurrection and the renovation of all things are also mentioned in the Gâthas. (Yas. xxx, 9.) We see, then, that

\* Far. xix, 28-32.

† Zamyâd Yt. xix, 89, 90.

these were original doctrines of Zoroaster, and only reached a fuller development in the later Avestan writings.

The Zoroastrians divided into two parties; the Magi held to the primitive monotheism of their religion; the Zendiks, whose doctrines are expounded in the Bundahish, adopted the later dualistic doctrine. The Magi found a proof of the unity of the supreme Being in the term *Zarvan akarana*, "boundless time." (Vend. xix, 9.) This doctrine concerning "*Zarvan akarana*," which has been held from early Sassanian times to the present, resulted from a grammatical misunderstanding. Translating in the locative instead of nominative and the doctrine disappears: "The beneficent spirit made, he made (these weapons required to defeat the influence of the evil spirit) *in boundless time*, the immortal benefactors, (Amesh-aspentas,) the good rulers and good arrangers co-operated." (Haug.)

The Zoroastrian religion is emphatically in its spirit a religion of work, devoted especially to the encouragement of agriculture. The five most pleasing spots of this earth are: the temple, the home of the pious, cultivated lands, stables, and pastures. (Vend. iii, 1-6.) The history of the rise of Zoroastrianism shows its close connection with agriculture. The earth was considered especially pure, and, lest it should be defiled, the dead were exposed on an iron grating in the Dokhma, or the "Tower of Silence," to be devoured by fowls of the air, or to decay. The bleached bones fall through into a pit beneath, from which they are removed to a subterranean cavern.

This religion, which at one time prevailed throughout Upper Thibet, Cabulistan, Sogdiana, Bactriana, Media, Persia, and other contiguous territory, and, had it not been for the victories of Marathon and Salamis, might have extended widely over the world, is now confined to a very limited territory. In India, near Bombay, there are (1879) 132,000 Zoroastrians, or twenty per cent. of the whole population. In Yezd and Kirman and twenty-three other surrounding villages there are 8,000. A few are found in Teheran, Ispahan, Shiraz, and Baku. The whole number in Persia is 8,188. The Parsis of Yezd and Kirman are poor, degraded, and ignorant; those of Bombay, wealthy, intelligent, and philanthropic, even beyond the other inhabitants.

The Parsis are monogamists; they eat nothing cooked by a

person of another religion; they object to eating beef and pork. Their priesthood is hereditary, but the son of a priest need not become a priest unless he so wish. They have many and careful purification ceremonies.

They pray sixteen times per day, but none of them—not even the priests—understand the language in which these prayers are composed. They have no pulpits, and no discourses in the vernacular of the people. The Parsi devotee may recite his prayers for himself; or, at any time when he pleases, he may go to the fire temple and give something to the priests to pray for him. The priests are bigoted and superstitious. There may be a dozen priests who know the meaning of the *words* of the Zend-Avesta, but know not the language.

There are two parties among the Parsis, the Conservatives, and the Liberals. The Conservatives hold to all the old and traditional customs; the Liberals are striving to work reforms in abolishing the filthy purifications; in reducing the number of obligatory prayers, in customs concerning marriages, weddings, and funerals; and in the education of women, in all of which they have made considerable progress.

To the Parsi, the sun and other heavenly bodies, or fire, are symbols of the divine presence. In their Catechism (published less than fifty years ago) they say:

We believe in only one God, and do not believe in any besides him, the God who created the heavens, the earth, the angels, the stars, the moon, the fire, the water, or all the four elements, and all things of the two worlds; that God we believe in. Him we worship, him we invoke, him we adore. Our God has neither face nor form, color nor shape, nor fixed place.

The commands God has sent us through his prophet Zoroaster are:

To know God as one; to know the prophet, the exalted Zoroasther, as the true prophet; to believe the religion and the Avesta brought by him as true beyond all manner of doubt; to believe in the goodness of God; not to disobey any of the commands of the Mazdiashna religion; to avoid evil deeds; to pray five times in the day; to believe on the reckoning and justice on the fourth morning after death; to hope for heaven and to fear hell; to consider doubtless the day of general destruction and resurrection; to remember always that God has done what he willed, and shall do what he wills; to face some luminous object while worship-

ing God. Your Saviour is your deeds and God himself. He is the pardoner and the giver. If you repent your sins and reform, and if the Great Judge consider you worthy of pardon, or would be merciful to you, he alone can and will save you.\*

It will be seen how unjust it is to call the Parsi "Fire worshipers." They feel reverence in the presence of the sacred flame as it is a symbol of the divine presence. The priests protect the face with a veil lest their breath might defile the fire. They will not blow out a candle if they can help it. They are the only eastern nation not addicted to smoking. They cling to their creed, which has become so compact, for the very reason that they cannot read it from their sacred books; they cling to their creed with great tenacity of religious affection. Pure thoughts, pure words, pure deeds; this is the substance of its practical part. Its most earnest exhortation to every man is, "Be bright as the sun, pure as the moon."  
—*Müller.*

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#### ART. V.—THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.

WHATEVER sheds light upon the history and literature of the Israelitish people is of permanent interest to the Christian student. Christianity is not independent of Judaism. The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, all spoke of Christ; and now that Christ has appeared, and brought life and immortality to light, we can read and understand the ancient Scriptures more perfectly than those to whom the prophecies first came. We, in a measure, see the end from the beginning, and may trace the gradual unfoldings of divine revelation from its comparatively indistinct beginning. The history and substance of the revelation are embodied in our Holy Scriptures, and whatever confirms and illustrates the Book of books, must, therefore, be of interest and value to the Christian.

The present century has surpassed all others in the amount of labor bestowed upon antiquarian research. The hoary monuments of Egypt, by the persevering efforts of such men as

\* Catechism in the Guzerati, translated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, an adherent of the Parsi religion, Professor of Guzerati at University College, London; quoted by Max Müller in *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 169-174.

Young, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch, have been made to yield up their secrets to the modern world. The deciphering and translation of the inscriptions on the monuments of ancient Babylon, Assyria, and Persia, have thrown great light both on the history and customs of those nations, and also on the narratives of Scripture. The minute and thorough exploration of Palestine, now in progress, promises to discover the sites of many a lost city, and to give fresh interest to the history of the Hebrew people. The zeal of research and exploration in these and other fields seems to be constantly increasing, for the discoveries already made are regarded as only a sort of first-fruits of a wondrous harvest.

Meanwhile, as we grow richer in such acquisitions, it is well for us not to neglect other treasures of antiquity. The sacred books themselves will never be superseded by all the hieroglyphic lore of Egypt, and all the libraries of Assyrian kings. The Book of Daniel is worth immeasurably more than the Rosetta Stone. And there are other ancient books, not held as sacred, but so connected with the history and literature of the Bible as to be of priceless value. Who would exchange the writings of Josephus for all that Assyrian research has yet produced? And yet there are other ancient books, quite neglected by even well-read Christians, and some of them scarcely known, which, if now first discovered, would be heralded as matters of the greatest moment to the Christian world. It is the purpose of this article to call attention to the character and value of some of these ancient writings.

#### TITLES AND SUBJECT-MATTER.

The following books are found incorporated in most editions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament: Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, Song of the Three Holy Children, History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and three Books of Maccabees. In some editions we find a Fourth Book of Maccabees, and the Prayer of Manasseh. Most of these books are also contained in the Vulgate version, and all of them, except Third and Fourth Maccabees, were translated into English and published with King James' version of the Bible. In this latter also appeared the Second Book of



Esdras. These books now commonly pass under the name Apocrypha, a word which means *hidden* or *secret*, and early came to be used by Christian writers to denote a class of books whose age and authorship were unknown. The word was also applied to forged, spurious, and heretical works. "Let us omit," says Augustine, "those fabulous books of Scripture which are called *apocryphal*, because their obscure origin was unknown to the Fathers." In another place he writes: "Apocryphal books are not such as have authority, but books whose original is obscure, and which are destitute of proper testimonials, their authors being unknown, and their characters either heretical or suspected."

By reason of their long and honorable association with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions of the Bible, these apocryphal books acquired a sort of semi-sacred character. They were frequently quoted as Scripture by the ancient Christian Fathers, and their incorporation with many modern editions of the Bible has given them currency and name. The Church of Rome has pronounced most of them canonical, and this fact has, perhaps, been one reason why Protestants have treated them with so little respect. They are rarely included in modern editions of the Bible, and still more rarely are they published separately. We are not aware that the Old Testament Apocrypha has ever been published separately in the United States.

The period of Jewish history between Ezra and the destruction of the Temple by the Romans was prolific of this class of books. A creative fancy evidently led some bold scribes to attempt to replace some of the lost books of the ancient Hebrews. Every reader of the Old Testament has noticed the references to "The Book of the Wars of the Lord," (Num. xxi, 14,) "The Book of Jasher," (Josh. x, 13,) "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," (1 Kings xi, 41,) and "The Book of Shemaiah," (2 Chron. xii, 15,) and numerous other books no longer known. These allusions probably suggested or inspired the composition of apocryphal stories, prompting inventive minds to construct a romantic narrative in connection with some ancient hero's name.

The contents of these several books are of a very varied character. We have history and fable, legend and romance, poetry and prophecy, and hence these books are invaluable for the light they shed on the history, civilization, life, customs and

beliefs, hopes and superstitions of the Jews, during the period from 300 B.C. to about 100 A.D. This was a notable period of transition and decay in Judaism, and much of its literature has a most intimate relation to the origin and early history of Christianity.

#### I ESDRAS.

Esdras is the Grecized form of the name Ezra, the famous priest and scribe who fills so important a place in Old Testament history. Many apocryphal traditions would naturally gather round his name. But this book might, perhaps, as well have been called the Book of Zerubbabel; for the writer's object seems to have been to give a history of the restoration from Babylon, and to immortalize Zerubbabel as the hero of a legend which forms the central portion and the only original section of his work. The legend is about three young men who contended for the honor of speaking the wisest proverb, (chaps. iii and iv,) and is a document of great interest and beauty. Its tribute to women and truth is worthy of a place among the choicest passages of ancient literature. With the exception of this legend, the book is but a loose compilation from the canonical books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The narrative is involved in inextricable confusion by making Zerubbabel live and act under the reign of Darius. The author was evidently a Jew, familiar with the history and sacred books of his people, but inexact and careless in his statements. He must have lived a century or more before the Christian era, for his work had acquired such currency and reputation that Josephus used it freely, and even followed it more closely than he did the corresponding biblical narrative. His name and country, however, are unknown. Among scholars he is often called the "Pseudo-Ezra," and the Greek text of his work has been thought to be of some value in emending certain doubtful passages in the Hebrew text of the canonical Scriptures.

#### II ESDRAS.

The book called "Second Esdras" in the English translation of the Apocrypha is known by different titles. In most of the Latin MSS. it is named The Fourth Book of Ezra, because it follows Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Greek Esdras, which are

reckoned as First, Second, and Third Ezra. St. Jerome calls it by this name, and thus it is most commonly designated by modern scholars. But the most appropriate title, and that which it still bears in the Greek Church, is "The Apocalypse of Ezra." It is generally believed that the book was originally written in Greek; but the original was lost, and we have its substance imperfectly preserved in five different versions, Latin, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac. The Latin version is published in Walton's Polyglot, and appears to have been the only version known to exist at the time of the issue of that great work, (1657.) The Armenian version was published along with the Armenian Bible of 1666. An Arabic version was discovered among the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, and was translated into English by Simon Ockley, and published by Whiston in the last volume of his "Primitive Christianity," (London, 1711.) Still later an Ethiopic version was found in the same library, and was published by Archbishop Lawrence, together with English and Latin translations of the same, (Oxford, 1820.) The Syriac version was published in 1868.

The first two and last two chapters of the Latin version are wanting in the other versions, and are allowed on all hands to be the work of a later writer. These interpolations are probably as late as the second or third century after Christ, and from the anti-Jewish spirit which pervades them we may reasonably infer that the author was a Gentile Christian. The temptation for Christian writers to add such passages to Jewish apocalyptic works was often strong, and the additions themselves are fully in keeping with much of the early Christian apocryphal literature. There exists a spurious Revelation of Esdras, a weak imitation of this book; also a Revelation of Paul, and of Peter, and of others. It is very manifest that this Second Esdras has been greatly corrupted by later writers and transcribers, and hence it is difficult to decide what was, and what was not, a part of the original work. The most extensive and thorough work on the text and exposition of this book is Prof. Volkmar's, in his "*Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen.*" \*

\* "ESDRA PROPHETA, nunc primum integrum edidit ex duobus manuscriptis Italae, adhibitis orientalibus prorsus recognitis, cum Commentariis et Glossario." Tubingen, 1863.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the text the work is of great value to the biblical scholar. The principal interpolations are so easily detected, that we can make out with tolerable certainty the leading doctrines of the original work. Its probable date is near the beginning of the Christian era. The expectation of the Messiah, the rewards of the righteous, the small number of the saved, the resurrection and judgment, the eternal counsels of God, the shortness and uncertainty of life, the wickedness and miseries of mortal men, their relations to Adam, the efficacy of good works—these and other related doctrines are prominent throughout the book, and some of the early fathers regarded and quoted its texts as if they were canonical and authoritative.

#### TOBIT.

The book of Tobit contains the history of a pious Israelite of the tribe of Naphtali, who was carried captive to Nineveh, and, having passed through various fortunes, ended a long life greatly blessed and comforted by reason of God's special favor toward himself and his only son. The historical truth of the narrative seems to have been unquestioned till about the time of the Reformation, but internal evidence militates against this view. There are inaccuracies in the historical allusions and the general tone of the narrative, and the character of the miraculous events detailed are far removed from the lofty spirit and impressive dignity of the sacred history. The story of Asmodeus killing seven husbands of Sara, and then driven away by fumigation; the peculiar modes of Raphael's appearance and action; his deceiving Tobit, and his journey with a servant and camels to bring ten talents of silver from Rages to Ecbatana, are alien from the character and style of Holy Scripture. There may be a basis of truth for the narrative, but if so, the real facts have become hidden by the legends of tradition and the genius of the author.

But aside from the question of its historical character, the book of Tobit has a manifest religious and esthetic value. As a work of Jewish fiction it abounds in beautiful domestic scenes, exhibitions of paternal care and of filial devotion, and also of the confiding friendship and brotherly devotion of the scattered exiles. Its moral and religious lessons are numerous, and in a

doctrinal point of view it is specially valuable as showing the later Jewish notions of good and evil angels. The date and authorship are altogether uncertain, but from the writer's apparent familiarity with localities in the far East, and with the habits and customs of distant exiles, we may infer that he was an eastern Jew, and lived some time before the beginning of our era. The best scholars incline to a date somewhere between 400 and 200 B.C. It is generally believed that the book was first written in Hebrew or Chaldee, but the original text is lost, and the oldest and best version is the Septuagint, from which our common English version was made. There are numerous other versions, and they vary greatly in details, so that on the whole the text of Tobit is in a very corrupt and confused condition. In his scholarly and truly valuable "Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen," Fritzsche has undertaken to construct a revised text, giving part in Greek and part in Latin.\*

#### JUDITH.

It is reported as a saying of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, that he could accept the Book of Judith as a true narrative if only he could find a place for it in ancient history. But not only is there no place in ancient history for it, but we believe it is also impossible to make it self-consistent. It contains historical, geographical, and chronological statements which no efforts of learning or ingenuity have been able to harmonize with well-established facts. And yet there have not been wanting writers, at almost every period of the Christian Church, who have accepted the book as a genuine history.

The more ancient writers have assigned the history of Judith to a post-exile period, but they could not agree as to the exact date. The main difficulty was to find a Persian monarch who would answer to the Nebuchadnezzar of this book. Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes were all tried, but when or how any of these reigned at Nineveh, or why a post-exile writer came to call either of them by the name *Nebuchod-*

\* See, also, "The Book of Tobit. A Chaldee text from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library, with other Rabbinical texts, English translations and the Itala," edited by Ad. Neubaner. Oxford, 1878. Also "Das Buch Tobias, übersetzt und erklärt," by Heinrich Reusch, Friburg, 1857; and "Das Buch Tobit, erklärt," by H. Sengelmann. Hamburg, 1857.



*onosor*, we nowhere find explained. The kingdoms of Assyria and Media had perished long before the Babylonish exile, and Nebuchadnezzar, the great Chaldean conqueror, was too prominent a character and too well known to be spoken of by any historian as king of the Assyrians and reigning at Nineveh.

More recent writers have referred the book to a pre-exile period. Prideaux places the events narrated in the reign of Manasseh, after that monarch had been brought back from his captivity in Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii, 11-13) and had been restored to his kingdom.\* The most recent work in defense of the historical character of the book is that of Wolff, who devotes thirty-six pages of his "Commentar über das Buch Judith" to a "Refutation of the chief objections to the historical worth and character" of this ancient work.† The principal results at which he arrives are the following: The Nebuchadnezzar of Judith is identical with *Kiniladan* of Ptolemy's Canon, and Arphaxad is the same as *Phraortes*, the son of Deioces, King of the Medes, who, having first subjugated the Persians, made war against the Assyrians, but was defeated, and perished with the greater part of his army, after he had reigned twenty-two years. (See Herodotus i, 102.) But to all this it is sufficient to reply, that the narratives of Herodotus and Judith, (assuming Arphaxad to be Phraortes,) do not well agree. Judith represents the Assyrians as the aggressors, (chap. i, 5, 13,) but Herodotus makes the Medes the invaders of Assyria. Instead of becoming master of Ecbatana, and utterly destroying the power of the Medes, as Judith affirms, the King of Assyria was soon after defeated in battle by Phraortes' son, Cyaxares, and Nineveh itself was taken. (Herod. i, 103, 106.) Judith says Arphaxad (i. e., Phraortes) fortified Ecbatana, (i, 2,) but according to Herodotus, it was Deioces, the father of Phraortes, (i, 98.)

But we have not space for this discussion. Let us only say that it is scarcely credible that the events of this book occurred during any period of biblical history, and received no notice by any sacred writer. We find no hint or allusion to it in the ancient histories, no mention of it in the writings of Philo or

\* Prideaux's "Connection," vol. i, pp. 82-87.

† "Das Buch Judith, als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt und erklärt," by O. Wolff. Leipsic. 1861.



Josephus; and we are driven to the conclusion that it is a late Jewish fiction of no historical value, and that its author was utterly indifferent as to historical and chronological accuracy. More plausible and satisfactory is the view of Volkmar, who maintains that "the Book of Judith is a poetical narrative of the historical victory of Judith or *Judea* over the Legates of the new Nebuchadnezzar *Trajan*, after his victorious war against the seemingly invincible new Medes or *Parthians*. The historical narrative is celebrated in the guise of Old Testament language for the feast of the Jewish triumph-day of Adar after Trajan's death."\* Substantially the same view is advanced by Grätz, in his "History of the Jews," (English Trans., p. 96, ff.) He holds that the Book of Judith is a fictitious story, written about 116 A. D., to encourage the Jews of Palestine under the oppression of Lucius Quietus, who was sent thither by Trajan to put down insurrection. He conceives that by Nebuchadnezzar Trajan is intended, and that Holofernes is but a fictitious personage designed to represent the cruel Quietus. In a time of general despondency and gloom, the beautiful and pious Judith, representing "Judaism in transfigured personification," emerges from the dark background to inspire the Israelites with hope and confidence, and nerve their hands for war.

Luther regarded the work as a sort of allegory, "a religious fiction or poem," in which Judith represents the Jewish people, Holofernes godless and persecuting heathenism, and Bethulia the virgin purity of the Jews of that period. The same general idea is also held by others, who, however, refer its origin to the Maccabean times. According to Wescott, "the value of the book is not lessened by its fictitious character. On the contrary, it becomes even more valuable as exhibiting an ideal type of heroism, which was outwardly embodied in the wars of independence."†

#### ADDITIONS TO ESTHER.

In the Septuagint version of the Book of Esther are found a number of apocryphal additions to the Hebrew narrative, which

\* "Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen, Erste Abtheilung: Judith." Tübingen, 1860; p. 5.

† Smith's "Bible Dictionary," art. Judith.

have been translated and published in the Authorized Version of King James under the title, "The Rest of the Chapters of the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee." They can scarcely be regarded as pure inventions of the Greek translators, but their subject-matter probably consists of national traditions widely current among the Jewish people, which these translators gave definite shape and form in their version of the canonical Esther. Josephus cites them (*Ant.* xi, 6,) as historically true, though he must have known that they formed no part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Similar additions are found in the Chaldee Targum of Esther, as also in the Targums of other canonical books. We need not suppose that they are without any historical basis, though they are, doubtless, to be largely attributed to the inventive tendencies of the later Judaism to embellish and amplify the heroic narratives of sacred history. These additions to Esther aim to supply what, doubtless, many a pious Jew, like many devout Christians, deemed strangely wanting in the Hebrew book, namely, a noticeable religious and theocratic character. The name of God does not occur in the Hebrew book; these additions plentifully supply that defect.

#### ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

The honored name of Daniel would naturally, like that of Esther, Ezra, and others, become associated with numerous traditions among the Oriental Jews. Three ancient documents, known as apocryphal additions to Daniel, have come down to us in connection with the Greek translations of the Old Testament. The English version gives them separately under the titles of "History of Susanna," "Song of the Three Holy Children," and "Bel and the Dragon." The first of these is found in the Septuagint at the beginning of the Book of Daniel, and is called in some copies "The Judgment of Daniel." Its design is to celebrate the womanly virtue of a pious Jewish matron of Babylon, and also to extol the wisdom of Daniel in proving her innocence, and in exposing the wickedness of two corrupt judges who sought her ruin. There may have been some basis of fact upon which the story rested, but in its present form it is evidently a highly embellished tradition of the later Judaism.

The song of the three holy Children is inserted in the Septuagint between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of the third chapter of Daniel. In the Alexandrian Codex it is placed at the end of the Psalms, and designated as hymns nine and ten, with the titles "The Prayer of Azarias," and "The Hymn of our Fathers." This position was, doubtless, given it on account of its liturgical character. It consists properly of three distinct parts. 1. The prayer of Azarias. (Verses 1-22.) 2. The angel's smiting of the flame of the furnace. (23-28.) 3. The song of the three companions. The first and third of these parts are probably not from the same author, and are not in exact harmony with each other.

The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon is found in the Septuagint appended to the Book of Daniel. The story belongs to the Ptolemaic period of Alexandrine Judaism, and was probably designed to fortify the Jews of Egypt against the prevailing superstitions of that land. The anachronisms and absurdities with which it abounds defy all serious claim for either genuineness or credibility. That Cyrus, the Persian, a Zoroastrian Monotheist, was a worshiper of the Babylonian Bel, is not to be supposed. That the temple of Bel was destroyed by Daniel is contrary to Herodotus and Strabo, who declare that Xerxes plundered and destroyed it. The worship of snakes and dragons, common in Egypt, was foreign to all we know of the Babylonian cultus. The Prophet Habakkuk flourished a century before the reign of Cyrus, and the story of his being carried by the hair of his head from Judea to Babylon, for the purpose of conveying a dinner to Daniel in the lion's den, is utterly preposterous. The work, like other similar productions, is chiefly valuable as illustrative of Jewish legendary lore.

#### THE PRAYER OF MANASSEH.

The captivity of the Jewish king Manasseh, recorded in 2 Chron. xxxiii, furnished the subject of numerous apocryphal legends. The Targum on Chronicles says that the Chaldeans made a brazen image, perforated all around with small holes, and shut Manasseh in it. Then they encompassed it with fire, and when the king began to suffer torture he prayed unto all the idols he had made, but they gave no answer. Then he

humbled himself and called upon the God of his fathers. As soon as he thus prayed all the angels that guard the gates of prayer, which are in heaven, closed those gates and all the windows of the sky, that his prayer might not be recognized. But immediately the tender compassion of the Lord was moved, and his right hand was stretched forth to help the penitent transgressor. He opened a window under the throne of his glory, listened to Manasseh's prayer, shook the world by his word, and cleft the brazen image, so that the captive king went free. Then Manasseh knew that Jehovah was God alone, who made the heavens and wrought these miracles.\*

The apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh is evidently an attempt of some Jewish writer to supply the prayer referred to in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 18. There is a simplicity and directness about it which certainly speak in its favor, but we have no means of determining the place of its composition, its date, or its authorship. It is found in the Alexandrian Codex, and the Greek text was first published by Robert Stephens, at Paris, in 1540. It was also published in the Apostolical Constitutions in 1563,† and in the fourth volume of Walton's Polyglot, at the beginning of the apocryphal books. It also exists in a Latin version which is older than the times of St. Jerome.

#### THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

If the Proverbs of Solomon did not inaugurate, they certainly gave definite and permanent form to, the ethical philosophy of the Hebrews. It is beautifully observed by Stanley that Solomon was not only the Augustus, but the Aristotle of his age and nation. But the Israelite philosophy, discarding the rigid rules and speculative tendencies of Greek thought, followed a more simple and practical course. The Wisdom, celebrated in the Book of Proverbs, and extolled in all the later Jewish literature, has its deep foundations in religion, and aims directly to correct and exalt human life and character. "Her

\* Fabricius, "*Codex Pseud. Vet. Test.*," p. 1100.

† In the Apostolical Constitutions the Prayer of Manasseh appears entire, and is followed by the statement: "There appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains, which were about him, fell off, and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction."—"Apos. Const.," book ii, 22. Eng. Trans. in vol. xvii of Clark's "*Ante-Nicene Chr. Library.*"

seat is the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world." With God before the foundation of the world, and during the creation, Wisdom evermore endures, pointing out the paths of righteousness, and leading to happiness, honor, and immortality.

This doctrine of Wisdom, by reason of Jewish contrast with Oriental and Occidental modes of thought, received various modifications with the lapse of time. The founding of Alexandria, in Egypt, opened a field for the commingling and conflict of all the leading systems of philosophy. Here Egyptian sages, Asiatic transcendentalists, Greek philosophers, and Jewish rabbins, met and disputed with each other. Here, encouraged by the Ptolemies, they founded schools and taught their several systems. Under such circumstances the diverse systems would naturally modify each other, and produce not a few eclectics.

Among the first settlers of Alexandria the Jewish population was conspicuous. Alexander himself gave them an eligible part of the city for their quarter, and allowed them equal privileges with the Macedonians.\* Ptolemy Lagus transported great numbers of Jews from various parts of Palestine into Egypt, and multitudes voluntarily emigrated thither, so that the Jewish population of Alexandria became a very important portion of the whole Jewish nation. At Alexandria the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was made. Notwithstanding occasional persecutions, some of them very bitter, the Alexandrian Jews maintained their influence and power, and by their worship and teachings largely affected the civilization of the East.

The author of the "Book of Wisdom"† is now generally believed to have been an Alexandrian Jew, who flourished about one hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. Luther and several others assigned the authorship to the distinguished Philo Judæus; but the writings of Philo and the doctrines of this book are too often in conflict to allow of this opinion. The religious and doctrinal value of the book places it among the highest of apocryphal productions. "It seems impossible to study the book dispassionately," says Westcott, "and not feel that it forms one of the last links in the chain of providential connection between the old and new covenants. Though

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 1; *Apion*, ii, 4.

† This is its title in the Vulgate.



it falls short of Christian truth, or rather is completely silent on the essential doctrines of Christianity, yet Christianity offers the only complete solution of the problems which it raises on the immortality of man, on future judgment, on the catholicity of the divine Church, and the specialty of revelation. It would not be easy to find elsewhere any pre-Christian view of religion equally wide, sustained, and definite. The writer seems to have looked to the East and the West, to the philosophy of Persia and of Greece, and to have gathered from both what they contained of divine truth, and yet to have clung with no less zeal than his fathers to that central revelation which God made first to Moses, and then carried on by the Old Testament prophets." \*

#### ECCLESIASTICUS.

This book was originally written in the Hebrew tongue, but has come down to us in a Greek translation, made professedly by the author's grandson. It is one of the most important apocryphal books extant, and the only one of which we have any account of the author. The common title in the Greek MSS., and in the printed editions of the Septuagint, is, "The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach," or simply, "Wisdom of Sirach." The name Ecclesiasticus is derived from the Old Latin version, adopted by Jerome, and has been the common title used by the Latin Church, and in most modern versions.

From the prologue to the book we learn that the author was an Israelite, who had given himself to a thorough study of the sacred writings of his people, and, having become deeply versed therein, he himself essayed to put in writing his own matured reflections upon discipline and wisdom. In chap. i, 27, he calls himself Jesus, [or Joshua,] the son of Sirach of Jerusalem, whence it appears that he was a Palestinian Jew. From other passages it also appears that he occasionally traveled abroad, observing men and things, and was frequently exposed to danger and death. The Greek translator, grandson of the author, informs us in the prologue that he came into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes. Thus doubtless he came in contact with the Greek spirit and culture which had its chief seat at Alexandria, and he thought it important to trans-

\* Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." Art., Wisdom of Solomon.



late the learned work of his grandfather into the current language of the land. This translation has lived, and is the basis of other versions, but the Hebrew original is lost.

The great theme of the author is Wisdom. He endeavors to set forth its true nature, illustrate its practical value, and celebrate its praise. His work abounds in passages of the highest elegance and beauty, and not a few of its precepts have worked their way into the popular language of most modern nations. "It would be regarded by our modern wits," says Addison, "as one of the most shining tracts of morality that are extant, if it appeared under the name of a Confucius, or of any celebrated Grecian philosopher." We add two other extracts, to show the estimation in which the work is held :

In some respects the Book of the Son of Sirach is but a repetition of the ancient writings of Solomon. In some of its maxims it sinks below the dignity of those writings by the homeliness of its details for guidance of behavior at meals, of commercial speculation, of social advancement. But its general tone is worthy of that first contact between the two great civilizations of the ancient world, and breathes a spirit which an Isaiah would not have condemned, nor a Sophocles or a Theophrastus have despised. There is not a word in it to countenance the minute casuistries of the later rabbis, or the metaphysical subtleties of the later Alexandrians. It pours out its whole strength in discussing the conduct of human life, or the direction of the soul to noble aims.\*

The ancients styled this book by the Greek name *πανάρητος*, signifying that it treats of and comprises all sorts of virtues. And, indeed, it is a system of morality so full and comprehensive that there is scarce any virtue which this excellent piece does not recommend, and lay down rules for obtaining; nor a vice or indecorum which it does not expose or discourage. It forms the manners of persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, by an infinity almost of useful maxims and instructions. One learns from it all the duties of religion and civil life, both what piety commands and politeness and good manners expect. Every one may here discover, so full and obvious is it, what he owes to God, to his country, his neighborhood, his family, and to himself; how to behave in the different relations of life, either to superiors or inferiors, friends or enemies; and so it may be thought, as indeed some have represented it, to comprise all the duties of both tables of the law. For the precepts which it delivers, and the principal matters which it treats of, may be divided into four sorts : 1. Theological. 2. Political. 3. Economical. 4. Ethical. These

\* Stanley, "History of Jewish Church." Third Series, p. 300.

four heads take in most, if not all, the maxims of this book, so that what lies dispersed in the great volumes of philosophers and moralists, is collected into a short compass, and to be found here, as it were, in miniature. In short, the author has given us at once a whole treasury of wisdom, and with great profusion has intermixed reflections, counsels, exhortations, reproofs, examples, prayers, praises, etc.; so that truth appears in different attitudes and forms, but beautiful and engaging under each, and shines with so complacent a luster as cannot but draw attention and command respect and admiration.\*

#### BARUCH.

The apocryphal Book of Baruch contains, 1. An introduction, (chap. i, 1-14,) in which the writer, assuming to be Baruch, the son of Neriah, declares that he read his book to Jehoiachin, the nobles, and all the people who dwelt in Babylon, and sent it, together with money and other things, to Joachim, the high-priest, and all the people who were still at Jerusalem. 2. A penitential prayer, (i, 15-iii, 8,) in which the afflicted people of God are represented as confessing their sins, and greatly humbling themselves, and supplicating the divine compassion. 3. An address to Israel, (iii, 9-iv, 8,) in which the writer abruptly turns from prayer to exhortation, and calls upon the Israelites to heed the counsels of wisdom. 4. Jerusalem's lament, (iv, 9-29,) in which the Holy City is introduced as a forsaken widow, mourning over the sins and captivity of her children, yet hopeful, and urging her children to cry unto God that they may be saved. 5. Jerusalem comforted, (iv, 30-v, 9,) God himself addressing her, and giving assurance that the enemies shall be destroyed, and Israel shall be restored in great triumph and glory.

The language of the book is largely appropriated from the prophetic books of Holy Scripture, especially from Jeremiah and Daniel, but the chronological data are full of confusion and obscurity.

#### EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH.

In some editions of the Septuagint, and in the Latin and Syriac versions, this epistle appears as the sixth chapter of Baruch. Thus it stands in the English version of King James. But in the Codex Alexandrinus, and most editions of the Sep-

\*Richard Arnald, "Commentary on the Apocrypha." Preface to Ecclesiasticus.

tuagint, it is placed immediately after the Lamentations of Jeremiah. It is entitled, "A Copy (*ἀντίγραφον*) of an epistle which Jeremiah sent unto them who were about to be led captives to Babylon, by the king of the Babylonians, to make known to them according as it was enjoined upon him by God." It admonishes the Jews that in Babylon they will come in contact with gross idolatry, and then proceeds at great length to expose the emptiness and folly of infidelity. Its form as an epistle is modeled after the twenty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah, and its exposure of idolatry is based chiefly on Jer. x, 1-16. Nothing is known of the author, and the time and place of his writing are uncertain. Fritzsche infers, from the purity of the writer's Hellenistic dialect, and his accurate acquaintance with idolatrous worship, that the epistle was written outside of Palestine, and probably in Egypt.

#### THE BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES.

Of the several ancient works which bear the name of the Maccabees that commonly known as the First is by far the most important and trustworthy. It contains a history of the Maccabean struggles for independence, and covers a period of about forty years, from 175 to 135 B. C. Its value as a historical document, pertaining to a most important and interesting period of Jewish history, cannot be easily overestimated. It furnishes a connecting link between the Old and New Testaments. "It almost equals," says Luther, "the sacred books of Scripture, and would not have been unworthy to be reckoned among them, because it is a very necessary and useful book for understanding the eleventh chapter of Daniel."

It is generally agreed among critics that the author was a Palestinian Jew. This is seen from the lively sympathy which he evinces for his Maccabean heroes, and his intimate acquaintance with the localities of Palestine. From the absence of any reference to a future life, or to the resurrection of the dead, it has been inferred that the author was a Sadducee. The book was probably written in the latter part of the reign of John Hyrcanus, somewhere between 120 and 107 B. C. Most critics believe that the closing words of the book (chap. xvi, 24) imply that John was still living. They speak of the beginning of his priesthood, but make no mention of its

close, a fact somewhat singular, if his entire reign had already passed into history.

According to Origen and Jerome the work was originally written in Hebrew, and their statement is corroborated by a critical study of the Septuagint version, in which occur numerous Hebraisms of such a character as to show that they are literal translations of Hebrew or Aramaic expressions. The Greek translator is unknown, but the version was probably made soon after the composition of the original. The wide prevalence of the Greek language gave general currency to this translation, so that it gradually superseded and displaced the Hebrew original.

The Second Book of Maccabees, though ancient and full of interest, is of far less historical value than the First. The religious and hortatory aim of the writer is noticeable in connection with a most glaring neglect of chronological order, and an unpardonable inaccuracy in details. The style of the writer is very uneven, and he uses many new and unusual words. Though showing a clever command of the Greek language, he sometimes epitomizes his narrative with a rough brevity, (e. g. chap. xiii, 19-26,) which presents a strange contrast with the rhetorical flow of other sections, (e. g., iii, 13-30.)

The author claims to furnish only an abridgment of a larger work in five books, by Jason of Cyrene, (chap. ii, 23.) The date of Jason's work, and of this epitome, cannot be very approximately fixed. The original work must have been written after Nicanor's death, (160 B. C.,) and probably some time after, and the abridgment, of course, still later. Opinions on this point range from 150 B. C. to 70 A. D.

The religious character of the book is one of its most important and interesting features. God is throughout recognized as ordaining even the most minute affairs of his people; the calamities which befell them are looked upon by the Jews as a temporary visitation for their sins; and the sufferings which come upon the righteous in this common visitation are regarded as atoning for the sins of the rest of the people, and staying the anger of God. What is, however, most striking, is that not only did the Jews then believe in the surviving of the soul after the death of the body, in the resurrection of the dead, and in their reunion with those near and dear to them, but that God does not irrevocably seal the eternal doom of man immediately after his departure, and that the decision of our heavenly Father may be

influenced by the prayers and sacrifices of the surviving friends of the departed. The striking distinction between the religious sentiments of this book and those of the former goes far to justify Geiger's conclusion that the two books are party productions; the author of the first was a Sadducee and a friend of the Maccabean dynasty, while the author or epitomizer of the second was a Pharisee, who looked upon the Maccabees with suspicion.\*

What is commonly known as the Third Book of Maccabees is, strictly speaking, not about the Maccabees at all. It narrates the persecutions and marvelous deliverances of the Jews of Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator. After his victory over Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy visited Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices at the temple. But attempting to enter the holy of holies, he was smitten by a judgment-stroke from Heaven. Thus baffled, he returned to Egypt and attempted to wreak his vengeance on the Jews who were settled in that country. He had them arrested and sent to Alexandria, designing there to have them crushed to death by intoxicated elephants. But his purposes were miraculously frustrated, his anger was turned into pity, and the Jews in his dominions were advanced to greater authority and glory than ever before.

There is no good reason to doubt or dispute the historical character of the main parts of the narrative. Its form shows the plentiful embellishments and exaggerations of a writer anxious to color his story with all that will give effect. But, aside from this, there appears a demonstrable basis of truth. It was probably written in the Greek language, at Alexandria, by an Alexandrian Jew. Its date is probably as early as 100 B. C. English translations of the Greek text have been made by William Whiston, (1727,) by Henry Cotton,† and by an unnamed writer in Bagster's edition of the "Apocrypha," Greek and English, in parallel columns, (1871.)

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is a philosophical treatise. In this respect it noticeably differs from the other books of this name; for, while it records numerous events of Maccabean history, it makes all subservient to a philosophical argument. The incidents recorded are brought to illustrate and confirm

\* Ginsburg, in Kitto's new "Cyc. of Bib. Literature." Art., Maccabees.

† The "Five Books of Maccabees," in English, with Notes and Illustrations. Oxford, 1832.



the fundamental proposition that religious principle is master of the passions. The book is usually printed in editions of Josephus' works, where it is entitled "Josephus' Treatise on the Maccabees, or on the Supremacy of Reason." But the Greek text of the Codex Alexandrinus is supposed to be the most ancient and preferable. Modern critics quite generally reject the opinion, once entertained, that Josephus was the author. It is rather believed to be the production of an Alexandrian Jew, and probably written about the beginning of the Christian era. It is chiefly valuable for illustrating the religious beliefs and moral philosophy of the Jewish people at that time. Like the Second Book of Maccabees, it teaches the doctrine of the resurrection, and that the death of the righteous is a vicarious atonement. English translations are given in Cotton's "Five Books of Maccabees," and Bagster's "Apocrypha," mentioned above.

In the Paris and London Polyglots appears still another Book of Maccabees. It is published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, under the title of "Second Maccabees;" but Cotton, who made an English translation from the Latin, entitled it, "The Fifth Book of Maccabees." It contains the Jewish history of 178 years, from the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the temple, to the murder of the two Maccabean princes, Alexander and Aristobulus, (184 to 6 B. C.) Of its historical value and general trustworthiness there can be no doubt, but it can scarcely be classed with the Old Testament Apocrypha.

Differing from the above-named books in their literary history, but like them in general character and worth, is another class of ancient Jewish writings, which we may appropriately, and for the sake of distinction, call *Pseudepigrapha*. This word implies that the titles of such books are false, and that they were not really written by the persons whose names they bear. And this is equally true of some of the books called apocryphal. Under the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha we may name the following: The Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Revelation of Moses, The Assumption of Moses, The Book of Jubilees, The Psalms of Solomon, The Ascension of Isaiah, The Revelation of Baruch, and, perhaps, The Sibylline Oracles. These ancient works, however falsely named, are all of great importance in the department of



Sacred Literature; but they are rare and costly, some of them not extant in an English version, and consequently hardly known to many an intelligent Christian reader. Our space will not allow us to present their contents in the present article.

#### THE QUESTION OF CANONICITY.

Most of these apocryphal books were in existence and well known before the Christian era. That the New Testament writers were familiar with them is rendered probable by numerous coincidences of language.\* They are frequently quoted as Scripture by the ancient Christian fathers, such as Clement of Rome and Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Origen, Hippolytus, and Athanasius. This honorable treatment of these books was, doubtless, largely owing to the general use, among the early Christians, of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. "In proportion as the fathers were more or less absolutely dependent on that version for their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, they gradually lost in common practice the sense of the difference between the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Apocrypha. The custom of individuals grew into the custom of the Church; and the public use of the apocryphal books obliterated in popular regard the characteristic marks of their origin and value, which could only be discovered by the scholar."† Augustine seems to have been the first who included the apocryphal books in the Canon of Holy Scripture. Yet in some parts of his writings he distinguishes between certain books, as the Maccabees, which were used in the Church, but not included in the Jewish Canon. Westcott observes that this great father of the Western Church "frequently uses passages from the apocryphal books as co-ordinate with Scripture, and practically disregards the rules of distinction between the various classes of sacred writings which he himself lays down. He stood on the extreme verge of the age of independent learning, and follows at one time the conclusions of criticism, at another the prescriptions of habit, which from his date grew more and more powerful." This enlargement upon the Jewish Canon received the sanction of

\* Compare 1 Esdras iii, 12, with 2 Cor. xiii, 8; Tobit iv, 15, with Matt. vii, 12; Judith viii, 27, with 1 Cor. x, 10; Wisdom iv, 10, with Heb. xi, 5; Eccles. v, 11, with James i, 19; Baruch iv, 7, with 1 Cor. x, 20; 1 Macc. iv, 59, with John x, 22.

† Westcott, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." Art., Canon.

one of the Councils of Carthage, and of several of the Popes of Rome. Finally, in 1546, the Council of Trent decreed: "If any one shall not receive these books entire, with all their parts, as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and the old Latin Vulgate edition, for sacred and canonical, and shall knowingly and intentionally despise the traditions aforesaid, let him be accursed." In another decree the same Council declared, "that this same old Vulgate edition, which has stood the test of so many ages' use, in the Church, in public readings, disputings, preachings, and expoundings, be deemed authentic, and that no one, on any pretext, dare or presume to reject it." This, of course, settles the question with all such as accept the infallibility of Popes and Councils.

But the Protestant Churches have rejected the apocryphal books from the Sacred Canon. They have generally acknowledged their value for reading and study, and in some places sanctioned their public use in the Church services, but have denied their authority in matters of faith. The argument against their canonical authority is decisive, and may be outlined as follows:

1. These books were not among those which were received as sacred Scripture in the days of Jesus and the apostles. There can be no reasonable doubt that "the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms," referred to in Luke xxiv, 44, were identical with the "only twenty-two books which contain the history of all past times, and are justly believed to be divine," mentioned by Josephus, (*Apion*, i, 8.) There is evidence that Josephus knew and used some of our apocryphal books, but he never treated them as Holy Scripture.

2. These books are not mentioned in the catalogue of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, (A.D. 175,) who made a special journey to the East to learn by careful inquiry the number and names of the sacred books of the Old Testament.

3. Origen, (A.D. 200,) who was very familiar with the apocryphal books, and frequently quoted them as Scripture, nevertheless affirms that the sacred books of the Hebrew canon were only twenty-two, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

4. The same testimony is repeated in substance by Athanasius, (A.D. 330;) Hilary, (350;) Epiphanius, (360;) Gregory

Nazianzen, (390;) Amphilochius, (390;) and the Councils of Laodicea, (367;) and Chalcedon, (451.)

5. Then comes the weighty testimony of St. Jerome, (A.D. 400,) the author of the Latin Vulgate, who enumerates the twenty-two books of the Jewish Canon, and declares, (Prologus Galeatus,) that "whatever is beyond these must be put in the Apocrypha." He also expressly says in the same connection that the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus son of Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and the Pastor, "are not in the canon." In another place he adds: "The Church indeed reads the books of Judith, and Tobit, and Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical Scriptures."

6. To all this add that, notwithstanding the decrees of Popes and Councils, a succession of the most learned writers of the Western Church, down to the period of the Reformation, maintained the position of Jerome in rejecting from the canon the so-called Apocrypha. And even after the decrees of the Council of Trent were published, there were Roman Catholic divines who thought it strange "that five cardinals and forty-eight bishops should take it upon themselves to decide so peremptorily in regard to points of religion of so much weight, declaring books to be canonical which had thus far been regarded as apocryphal, or at most uncertain, and making a translation authentic, which in numerous passages departs widely from the original text." \*

#### DEUTERO-CANONICAL CHARACTER.

Although these books were never included in the Jewish Canon, and internal as well as external evidence shows that they have no authority as well-authenticated sacred books, their connection with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and their extensive use in the Christian Church, have given them a character and prominence which has been designated as *Deutero-Canonical*, that is, having a kind of secondary authority. We have noticed above how Augustine distinguished between canonical books, and books that might be used in the churches. This distinction seems to have been observed by the principal writers during the Middle Ages. The apocryphal books are

\* See Stow's article on "The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, and the Reasons for their exclusion from the Canon of Scripture," in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," for April, 1854.

spoken of as "doubtful Scriptures," "excellent and useful, but not in the Canon," "not equaling the sublime dignity of the other books, yet deserving reception for their laudable instruction." When the first complete edition of Luther's Bible appeared, in 1534, these doubtful books were placed by themselves between the Old and New Testaments, with the title: "Apocrypha; that is, Books which are not to be considered as equal to Holy Scripture, and yet are useful and good to read." This same arrangement was followed in Coverdale's English translation, (which was printed in 1535,) and was adopted in the principal English translations down to and including that of King James in 1611. The Sixth Article of the Church of England, after enumerating the commonly received canonical books of the Old Testament, "of whose authority there never was any doubt in the Church," says: "And the other books the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet it doth not apply them to establish any doctrine;" and then follows a list of the apocryphal books according to their order in King James' version. In the Book of Homilies these deuterocanonical books are cited as Scripture, and treated with reverence; and in the Book of Common Prayer they are spoken of as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. The Confession of the Dutch Churches, (1566,) after naming the canonical books, "respecting which no controversy existed," has the following: "We make a distinction between these and such as are called apocryphal, which may indeed be read in the Church, and proofs adduced from them, so far as they agree with the canonical books; but their authority and force are by no means such that any article of faith may be certainly declared from their testimony alone; still less that they can impugn or detract from the authority of the others." The Helvetic Confession (1566) holds substantially the same position. The Westminster Confession declares that the "Apocrypha, not being of divine confirmation, are no part of the Canon of Scripture, and therefore of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings." From all this it will be seen that the apocryphal books have held a historical Church importance, even among those who denied their canonical authority.

## PROFITABLE FOR HISTORY AND DOCTRINE.

From what we have observed above of the dates, contents, and character of these ancient books, it will be seen at once that they must be of great value in tracing, through a most important period of their history, the movements, customs, and opinions of the Jewish people. In some of these books appear the later Jewish notions of the Messiah who was to come; in others we read of their struggles against idolatry, and their attitude toward the Gentile nations around them. In one place we find encouragement to offer prayers for the dead; in another, prayer and fasting are extolled; in another, great stress is put upon the necessity and importance of almsgiving. The doctrines of the unity and holiness of God, of Providence and grace, and of the ministry of good and evil angels, appear in various connections. We may also discover, in several books, evidences of the great doctrinal variance between Pharisee and Sadducee, exhibiting itself unconsciously in the narratives of different authors. Thus in First Maccabees we find no allusion to a future life, or to the resurrection of the dead, although the narrative offered plenty of opportunity for such allusion, had these doctrines formed a part of the writer's creed; but in Second Maccabees we have accounts of tortured martyrs, expressing in the hour of death their confidence that in the resurrection they would receive again the very limbs which their persecutors mangled and severed from their bodies. Various other ideas of life, death, immortality, resurrection, and future judgment are to be found scattered here and there through the several books,\* so that it is evident the Old Testament apocryphal literature must necessarily hold an important place in biblical and theological study, and is in some degree like the inspired Scriptures of God, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." (2 Tim. iii, 16.)

## CRITICISM AND LITERATURE.

Although these books are allowed on all hands to be very ancient and valuable, they have received from critics and scholars comparatively little attention. The most considerable attempt

\* See Dr. Bissel on "Eschatology of the Old Testament Apocrypha," in "Bibliotheca Sacra," of April, 1879.



at an English commentary is the work of Richard Arnald, and is more than a hundred years old. It is entitled: "A Critical Commentary on such Books of the Apocrypha as are appointed to be read in the Churches, namely: Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, Baruch, History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon; with Two Dissertations on the Books of Maccabees and Esdras. Being a Continuation of Bishop Patrick and Mr. Lowth." (London, 1753.) But two German scholars, Fritzsche and Grimm, have furnished a complete and thorough commentary, entitled: "Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments." (Leipsic, 1851-1860.) This able and exhaustive work treats all the books commonly included in the Apocrypha, with the exception of Second Esdras. Notes, more or less full, on the apocryphal books, may be found in the fifth volume of the "Critici Sacri," and in Calmet's Commentary. A very thorough examination of these books is also given by Eichhorn in his "Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments." (Leipsic, 1795.) Compare also the other leading works on Biblical Introduction, such as those of Horne, (Ed. Davidson,) De Wette, Keil, and Bleek, (German editions,) Gray's "Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha," and Wilson's "Books of the Apocrypha, with Critical and Historical Observations."

There are numerous valuable treatises on separate books, such as Wolff on Judith, Reusch, Sengelmann, and Neubauer on Tobit; Van der Vlis, Volkmar, and Ewald on Second Esdras; and Cotton and Keil on the Books of Maccabees. See also Hilgenfeld's "Die Jüdische Apokalyptic," (Jena, 1857,) and numerous articles by the same author in the German periodical, "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie." Valuable suggestions and information may also be found in Prideaux's "Connection," Ewald's "History of Israel," (vol. v, Eng. trans.,) Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church," (vol. iii,) and Milman's and Graetz's "Histories of the Jews." And especially valuable and comprehensive are the articles touching these books, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," (American ed., 4 vols.,) Kitto's "New Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," M'Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature," and Herzog's "Real-Encyclopædie," (new edition, now issuing from the German press.)



The original texts and ancient versions are given in the fourth volume of Walton's "Polyglot." The Greek texts appear in the various editions of the Septuagint, and have been published separately by Fabricius, Augusti, Apel, and others. The latest and best is that of O. F. Fritzsche: "*Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece*," (Leipsic, 1871.) Bagster & Sons, of London, publish the Greek and English in parallel columns. The Latin texts are found in the editions of the Vulgate. The Syriac versions were separately published in 1861 by Lagarde. Wahl published, at Leipsic, in 1853, a special lexicon for the Apocrypha, entitled: "*Clavis Librorum Vet. Test. Apocryphorum philologica*."

Just as this article goes to press, (November, 1880,) the Scribners issue, as a supplemental volume of the American edition of Lange's Commentary, a large octavo of 680 pages, entitled: "*The Apocrypha of the Old Testament; with Historical Introductions, a Revised Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory;*" by E. C. Bissell, D.D. The author is said to have devoted several years, in Germany and in this country, to the special study of the Apocrypha, and his work, which seems in fullness and critical accuracy to surpass even that of Fritzsche and Grimm, will meet a *desideratum* in our biblical literature which has long been felt.

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#### ART. VI.—BAIRD'S "RISE OF THE HUGUENOTS."

*History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France.* By HENRY M. BAIRD. Two volumes. 8vo. Charles Scribners' Sons.

WE have in these two handsomely printed volumes the latest and best results of scholarly research into the history of a period which, with the new hopes of Protestantism in France, has acquired a fresh interest. Several historians, French, German, and English, have treated the subject, and original materials are abundant; but the investigations of Professor Baird have included numerous documents brought to light in a recent period, and the solution of certain questions which conflicting statements had left in doubt. The manuscript collections preserved in Paris and Zurich have been carefully consulted for the latter purpose; while the mass of contemporary corre-

spondence, hitherto inedited memoirs and important State papers, now published and still in serial course of publication, have been drawn upon to enrich these pages. The author refers in his preface particularly to the Astor Library, in New York, which he has found surprisingly well furnished for the prosecution of his studies, and it is a credit to the Library that so exhaustive a treatment of this subject could be conducted chiefly by its aid. The more familiar chronicles and memoirs of the period in question, as well as the prominent historians, have evidently been well read and digested, and we have here a work quite unequaled on the subject for extensive research and copiousness of illustration, as exhibited both in the text and in the notes and dissertations.

Indeed, the present work is the product of special studies continued through nearly twenty years, and of an ardent interest in the theme, conceived, as we know, by the author in his youth, which has prompted him to a careful and faithful performance of his task. We have, therefore, the satisfaction of reading pages in which every statement has been well weighed. The style is characterized especially by sobriety, which is, nevertheless, quite devoid of dullness. The conception which the author has formed of the true historian's work is the presentation of a finished but plain record of facts which shall be attractive to the reader rather by its transparency than its brilliancy of expression. The most exciting events are narrated without passion, and yet with a clearness and force which brings them the more effectually under the eye of a calm judgment. These volumes will have a deserved place as the classic American history of the events to which they are devoted, side by side with the works of Prescott and Motley, though differing from them both in rhetorical qualities. One feels at once, in reviewing here the rise of French Protestantism, that he is treading on more carefully explored ground than when carried along by the somewhat ardent imagination of Dr. Merle d'Aubigné; though it would be, doubtless, unfair to bring the truly interesting and valuable, but professedly fragmentary, chapters of the latter,\* which touch the same subject, into full comparison with the present systematic work.

\* "Histoire de la Réformation en Europe au temps de Calvin." 8 vols.

Though systematic and thorough, Professor Baird's history does not, indeed, comprehend all that we might wish to see treated in this connection. This was not to be expected. The development of Protestantism gave rise to civil strife in France under circumstances of absorbing interest. After the period of passive submission to persecution, the successive civil wars, of which there were no less than seven in the century, the remarkable characters they developed, the tragic scenes enacted in connection with them—the political relations of Protestantism—these are the matters of special prominence in this epoch in France, and such as chiefly engage the attention. A more precise and fuller presentation of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system of the French Protestants, and a more extended history of the Synods in which it was perfected, would have been welcome. A fuller chronicle of facts concerning the methods and work of propagating the new faith would, of course, possess great interest: but the narrative must have some limit. The author has evidently not thought fit to extend the plan of his work very far beyond the external relations of the subject. Yet the historical student has certainly much to be thankful for in these two stately volumes of six hundred pages each. The general state of the kingdom, of society, and the Church, at the opening of the period, is exhibited in a clear and interesting manner, in those points more immediately related to the fortunes of the rising Reformed faith. The wide scope and intricate action of political influences, both internal and foreign, during this period in France have been well studied, and the different authorities carefully balanced to secure a just statement of fact. The author is specially to be commended for the evident impartiality which marks his judgment on events and characters. If the truth of history compels the restatement of facts in the conduct of the Catholic party toward their opponents which we can only abhor, so likewise does Professor Baird not shun to record corresponding acts, though far less in number and magnitude, on the part of the Protestants, as particularly in the course of the civil wars; while the erroneous conceptions concerning the rights of conscience every-where prevalent, and the partial barbarity of the times, are seen to be to a large extent the occasion of these painful events.

The period treated in the work before us embraces about

sixty years, extending from the beginning of the reign of Francis I., in 1515, to the death of Charles IX., in 1574. This was the period of the "Rise" of the Huguenots of France, at the close of which, having survived five sanguinary wars, "they stood before the world a well-defined body that had . . . proved itself entitled to consideration and respect." Our author lays before us at the outset valuable observations on the general condition of the kingdom, upon which the limits of this article will forbid any enlargement, although a consideration of such matters contributes much to a full understanding of the subject of this history. The constitution of the Parliaments, the university and municipal corporations, the condition of the clergy, and the relation of the Crown to all these bodies, are chief features in the case. The arbitrary institution by Francis I. of his Concordat with the Pope, the provisions of which continued to be recognized down to the Revolution, and which effectually nullified the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis and of Bourges, that palladium of Gallican liberties, and substituted for electoral rights in the Church the royal prerogative of appointment, is a point of marked importance. The spiritual indifference of the clergy, the non-residence of the chief officials, the incompetence and general negligence of others, and the dissolute manners of many, were noted in those times by the Catholic authorities as the principal causes of the spread of the Reformation.

If we attempt now a general survey of events in the period before us, which, it may be thought, present interest in the subject will warrant, we can do no more than touch upon certain portions of the narrative. The highly dramatic character of the period and its development of most important consequences for the interests of mankind will receive but imperfect illustration.

A genuine ray of the light about to rise upon Europe shone in the heart and scholarly mind of Jacques Lefèvre, of Etaples, in Picardy, who came to a professor's chair in the Sorbonne in the later years of Louis XII. Of humble origin, but pure morals and attractive spirit, his active mind and travel abroad made him a master in varied learning. He is credited with having "restored letters to France." In his commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, in 1512, he clearly enunciated the doctrine

of justification by faith. Further utterances of like purport occasioned his condemnation by the Sorbonne. Guillaume Farel of Dauphiny was his pupil. Both, like the Wesleys, were scrupulous observers of religious duties and ceremonies. "Together they frequented the churches and united in the pious work, as they regarded it, of decking out with flowers the pictures of the saints to whose shrines they made frequent pilgrimages." But the teacher saw the coming light, and more than once exclaimed to his pupil, "Guillaume, the world is going to be renewed, and you will behold it."

A conspicuous example of the more spiritual class of prelates was Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux. He was the envoy of both Louis XII. and Francis I. to the papal court, where he conceived, it is said, his desire for a reform of the Church. Lefèvre was invited to his diocese in 1521, and there made a translation of the Scriptures into French, which was freely read in the churches of the diocese, to the great joy of the people. Farel had accompanied his teacher, and Gérard Roussel and Mazurier, both eloquent speakers, followed. The bishop himself was zealous in pronouncing against abuses and in commending the new preachers. With all this activity Meaux seemed likely to be another Wittenberg. But, alas! the opposition of the monastic orders, and the power of the University and the Parliament, proved too strong for the bishop, who retracted his former utterances in favor of reform. The preachers were compelled to withdraw, which Farel did in 1523, going home to the Dauphiné, where he labored zealously, and thence to Switzerland; Lefèvre and Roussel, in 1528, retiring to Strasburg. Roussel's courage was inadequate to a course of decided activity in the new movement. Lefèvre also shrank from bold action, was patronized by the Queen of Navarre, and resided at last near her court at Nérac. His reputed confession of remorse at the close of his life, for having "basely avoided the martyr's crown," is confirmed by a memorandum in Farel's own handwriting, recently discovered in the Geneva library. Merle d'Aubigné gives a highly interesting account of the meeting at Nérac between Calvin and Lefèvre.\* The latter also met Farel again at Strasburg. Farel was a man of the people who spoke in all places—in the field or by the road-

\* "Hist. de la Réf. en Europe au temps de Calvin," iii, 82.



side—with a fiery eloquence “which penetrated the heart and swayed the masses.” He was not, however, to be the leader of the Reformation in France. No less a man than Calvin was fitted for that work.

But the Reform party had at the outset a warm friend at court. If Calvin came later to instruct by his writings, and sent letters of hearty encouragement to the martyrs from his stronghold in Geneva, the ardent sympathies of Margaret of Angoulême, the king's sister, and later Queen of Navarre, cherished the movement of the new faith, and she remained ever a friend to the leaders and sufferers in the cause; although toward the last she gave, under certain circumstances, her countenance to persecution.\* Her youth was devoted to study, and many of her verses evince a poetic talent equal to that of Marot. At court she exhibited great intelligence, and was consulted on every occasion. The Bishop of Meaux was her confessor, and an extended correspondence between them exists. She wrote encouragingly to him in the days of his efforts for reform. “I assure you,” she said, “that the king and madame are entirely decided to let it be understood that the truth of God is no heresy.” Her conception of reform, however, was such as could obtain within the Church. Her religion was of a mystical cast; she abhorred disputation, and would preserve external unity. But her personal devotion to evangelical work was very marked. “There was not in the sixteenth century,” says Merle d'Aubigné, “an evangelist, at least no woman, more active than she.” Her “Mirror of the Sinful Soul,” † issued in

\* Baird, i, 226.

† Merle d'Aubigné observes: “These verses contain voices of the soul and aspirations toward heaven which had been for a long time unknown to the world.” For a specimen see “Les Marguerites de la Marguerite,” i, 63.

“Oh Jesus Christ! des âmes vrai pêcheur!  
Mon avocat, mon unique sauveur!  
Je ne crains plus d'être jamais défaite,  
Car vous avez justice satisfaite.

“Unie à Christ je ne puis avoir peur,  
Peine, travail, ennui, mal ni douleur,  
Très faible suis en moi, en Dieu très forte,  
Car je puis tout en Lui qui me conforte.

“Ni de ton ciel l'infinie hauteur,  
Ni de l'enfer l'abîme et profondeur,  
Ni le péché qui me fait tant de guerre,  
Ne me peuve séparer un seul jour,  
O père saint! de ton parfait amour.”



Paris in 1533, was condemned by the Sorbonne, which, with other indignities shown to his sister at the instigation of the theologians, greatly enraged the king. Margaret cherished an ardent love for her brother, as recorded in many of her writings, but it is not easy to measure the extent of her influence with him in religious matters.

There was much in the character of Francis I. to attract regard. He was tall, athletic, of fair complexion, and so distinguished for courteous manners as to be called "*Le roi des gentilshommes*." "No ruler of the day," says our author, "surpassed him in gravity and nobility of bearing." He was, however, addicted to sensuality, and was often guilty of duplicity. He had little affection for the pope, quite disliked the monks and the Sorbonne, but lacked earnestness in religious matters. Martin says: "More than once, indeed, the flame which had touched the Elector of Saxony appeared to glow upon the heart of Francis I.; but Louise of Savoy was too corrupt, and her son at least too volatile, too far removed from the sense of an interior life and a serious spirituality, to admit of any decision under the guidance of truly religious motives." \*

But Francis was, after the dictates of his nature, in ardent sympathy with the Renaissance spirit of the times; and this made him friendly to the Reformers, for at the outset all the truly learned favored them. The king's cultivation of art could not, perhaps, directly contribute to incline him toward a more simple faith and a stricter rule of morals, yet it doubtless had no little influence in liberalizing his disposition. Francis rendered genuine aid to learning. He renewed the decree of Louis XII., which introduced the French language in place of Latin into the public documents. He established, (1530,) contrary to the will of the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, after the model of the Italian universities, with new systems and free lay instruction. Erasmus was called to the post of director, but declined. In the same spirit the king upheld Lefèvre against the Sorbonne, and favored the measures of Briçonnet at Meaux. He read the Bible freely with his sister, and in the earlier years evidently felt no hostility toward the Reformers.

Of the influences brought to bear upon Francis to change his mind in this regard, probably the most effective was the idea,

\* "*Histoire de France*," viii, 149.

studiously urged upon him, that "*a change of religion necessarily involves a change of governments.*" He was also made to listen to slanders against the Protestants to the effect that they were one in spirit with the rebellious Anabaptists of Germany. The German ambassador in Paris declared to him that "the Protestants only wanted to rob the Church of its wealth, would have no ranks in society, no marriage, no rights of property, no king." Policy, moreover, at various times, and especially in furthering his designs upon Italy, required him to maintain friendship with the pope. On the other hand, with a view of strengthening himself against his rival, the Emperor Charles V., Francis, on different occasions, professed the most favorable sentiments toward the Protestant princes and leaders of Germany. He invited Melancthon to Paris, and proposed a very liberal plan for the pacification of the Church. His duplicity and purely political aims were, however, made apparent. Still, intense interest was every-where excited in the negotiations. The Teutonic nations might be said to have become Protestant. Italy and Spain were moved. What would be the course of the Romanic peoples? All eyes were turned to France as the predominant representative of the latter element. Moreover, at the papal court itself there were strong signs of a new spirit. From the time of Leo X. an "association" for the reformation of the Church existed at Rome. The party of Contarini labored for the general pacification of the Church; they obtained in the Conference of Ratisbon (1541) a very liberal scheme, which, however, was nullified by the curia. The French king proved unequal to the demands of this great crisis, and Professor Fisher\* has very justly said: "Francis, by his undecided and vacillating attitude, brought upon his country incalculable miseries—civil wars, in which France became not the arbiter, but the prey of Europe."

It is uncertain whether Francis ever read the dedication to the king which Calvin published with his "Institutes," a work first issued in its unexpanded form in 1536. Calvin was born in 1509 at Noyon, a small city of Picardy; received a Church benefice at the age of twelve, but later studied law, though interested finally in a profound examination of the Scriptures, which resulted in his gradually embracing evangel-

\* "History of the Reformation."

ical views. At Paris he was charged with being the author of Rector Cop's evangelical address, delivered in November, 1533, which compelled the flight of both from the city. Calvin went to Angoulême, where he decisively renounced the Romish Church. Professor Baird distrusts the account given by Merle d'Aubigné, and others, of Calvin's preaching at this period in the "caverns" of Poitiers, and earlier in Paris and Bourges.\* At Basle, in 1535, he first conceived, according to our author, the idea of giving a practical direction to the great work which he had been composing, sending it out as a defense for the Protestants of France before the king. On his return from the Court of René, in Ferrara, he proposed to retire to Germany, where he might serve his Protestant fellow-countrymen by a course of quiet study; but in passing through Geneva (1536) he was detained there by Farel, with great urgency of entreaty, that his commanding energy might be made of service to the struggling Protestant Church in that city of exceedingly varied social influences, of intellectual activity, of gay and dissolute life. The difficulties encountered by Calvin, and the long reign of his influence at Geneva, the energetic impulses which went out thence through the thirty printing-presses, the missionaries, and letters of the leaders, into France, are well known. The year 1534, when violent placards against the Roman Catholic mass were posted on the walls of Paris, which provoked a cruel persecution, was a marked epoch for the French Protestants. The king thenceforth exhibited a decided aversion to them. Hope could no longer be fixed upon the Court, and the followers of the Reformed faith learned to look toward Geneva and its great ecclesiastical ruler for their encouragement. With Francis faithful to them they would have remained "Lutherans," as they were generally called; but henceforth they became Calvinists.

Professor Baird does not hesitate to acknowledge Calvin's participation in the illiberal views of the age concerning the rights of conscience, and leaves him chargeable with promoting the execution of Servetus. Calvin "did, indeed, desire and urge that Servetus should be punished capitally, . . . but the other principal Reformers of Germany and Switzerland—Melancthon, Haller, Peter Martyr, and Bullinger gave their

\* Baird, i, 201, note.

hearty indorsement to the cruel act."\* The condemned Protestants themselves confessed that real heresy ought to be punished with death. Farel wrote of himself that he "was most worthy of any punishment imaginable, if he seduced any one from the doctrines and faith of Christ." In further illustration of the subject of the persecutions, see the account given here and in other historians of the barbarous practices of the age in the forms of punishment used for different offenses. The origination of the course of persecutions in France is chargeable not upon the king, but upon the Sorbonne, the Parliament, the queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, and the chancellor, Duprat. We cannot here note the history of the severe measures adopted, nor trace the heroic record of the martyrs. Sometimes indiscreet and unjustifiable acts were the occasion of arrest, as in the instance of the iconoclastic rage which broke out in Paris, 1528-30. The king had, before the year of the placards, on certain occasions expressed a decided hostility to heresy; but from that year onward persecution became systematic in the kingdom, and the reign of Francis I. did not close (1547) till he became in a great degree responsible for the bloody deeds of the Baron d'Oppède in the Vaudois villages of Provence.

Henry II. is said to have had all the faults of his father with but one of his excellences—physical prowess. Dull of understanding, he was easily influenced by his surroundings. He had married Catherine de Medicis, the niece of Pope Clement VII., and the latter's fatal gift to France in 1533. Diana of Poitiers was the avaricious mistress of the king; Anne de Montmorency, a valorous but rude soldier, the constable of the realm. The rivalries of noble houses and factions, and schemes of personal ambition, now became prominent at court. The house of Guise, sprung from the Duke of Lorraine, appears upon the scene. In 1538 James of Scotland married Mary of Lorraine. Their issue was Mary Stuart, married to the Dauphin, afterward Francis II., and the Guises thus rose to arrogate a regal dignity which they claimed to deduce from Charlemagne.

Francis, Duke of Guise, was a soldier of great ability, but ignorant, it is said, in all other matters, and in religious affairs

\* Baird, i, 212.

led by his brother Charles, who, on the death of his uncle, John, succeeded him as Cardinal of Lorraine. The extravagance of the court during this reign, and the selfishness everywhere prevalent in grasping after offices of profit in Church and State, is generally attested by historians. "France," says our author, "became a scene of rapacity beyond precedent." The patronage was chiefly in the hands of the Guises and Montmorencies.

Neither Henry nor his advisers had any sympathy for the Reformed faith, and persecution raged. Nevertheless the new religion grew, was openly embraced by persons of high rank, and the Protestant party exhibited more and more that predominance of gentle blood and superior intelligence which characterized it in France. Antoine de Bourbon, titular King of Navarre, was the first prince of the blood. He had married Jeanne d'Albret, who, as daughter of the king, Henri d'Albret and Margaret, was Queen of Navarre. They resided at Pau, where their son, afterward the illustrious Henry IV., was born. After listening to the Protestant preachers in his southern home, Antoine joined their assemblies in Paris. His brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, also declared himself a Protestant, and likewise their cousin, François d'Andelot, son of the Marquis de Châtillon. D'Andelot sent Protestant books to his brother, the Admiral Coligny, while the latter was detained prisoner of war.

Notwithstanding the dread of the Inquisition, the first Protestant Church was organized at Paris, in 1555, after the model of the Geneva Churches, and others followed in different cities. On May 26, 1559, the first National Synod of the Reformed Church assembled secretly in the Faubourg St. Germain, and adopted a Calvinistic Confession of Faith and Presbyterian form of Discipline.\* Strange to say, they recognized the principle that "God had placed the sword in the hand of the magistrate to repress the sins committed not only against the second table of God's commandments, but against the first." The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, so disastrous for France, as asserted by our author and most historians,† was made to terminate

\* Professor Baird quotes, for the best account of the Synods, Aymou, "Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France." (La Haye, 1710.)

† Guizot takes a different view: "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 268.



the war which Henry had been waging, partly in order that he might have opportunity to suppress heresy at home. His career was, however, suddenly cut short by the accidental thrust of a lance at a tournament, January 30, 1559.

With the brief reign of Francis II., who came to the throne at sixteen years of age, began the prominent activity of his mother, Catherine de Medicis; an activity which was rather that of management to render herself and her children secure in the seat of power than any course of bold scheming for more extravagant ends. Yet with so moderate an aim, she would evidently not be deterred by moral considerations from any means necessary to secure it. Though sufficiently capable of unjust and cruel designs, she had certainly much to do at the outset to protect herself and the king. A woman and a foreigner, of less than noble extraction, she needed the use of all her faculties amid the rivalries of the court. She had to draw strength from all parties, and keep her course between them, desiring neither the growth nor the destruction of either. There is good authority to believe that she was naturally averse to strife, and desired peace for herself, her own, and the kingdom. Such is, in substance, the view which Professor Baird is disposed to take of the stand-point of Catharine's policy, the view taken by other able writers in later years, and quite clearly presented by the judicious German historian, Soldan.\* It is a more moderate and favorable conception of her character than has heretofore generally prevailed among Protestants.

The Guises were now supreme at court, and the opposition to this predominance of a foreign house centered itself in two families, the Bourbons (Antoine of Navarre and Louis, Prince of Condé) and the Châtillons, (the Cardinal Odet, D'Andelot, and Admiral Coligny.) These were all more or less attached to the Protestant faith. The King of Navarre was the natural head of the party, but, though a good soldier, proved himself in religious matters ever irresolute and worthless as a leader.

The Protestants had grown greatly in numbers during the last reign. There was a general popular discontent at the rule of the Guises and the continued persecutions. An open revolt was planned, from which Calvin earnestly dissuaded his followers, saying, "Let but a drop of blood be shed, and streams will

\* "Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich," ii, 385, 387.



flow that must inundate France." Coligny was not consulted, for he was known to be averse to violence. Condé stood, however, as the "*chef muet*," La Renaudie being the actual leader. The court, in alarm, shut itself up at Amboise. The "Edict of Forgiveness" was issued March, 1560, though its provisions were not faithfully kept. It marked an epoch in the history of French Protestantism. "It is the point whence begins the transition from the period of persecution to the *period of the civil wars.*" The scheme of assault was again set on foot, but defeated: the leader was slain, and the Duke of Guise took terrible vengeance on the captured conspirators. Such was the "Tumult of Amboise." The name "Huguenots" was now first applied to the Protestants. "Not a week had passed after the conspiracy of Amboise before the word was in every body's mouth. Few knew or cared whence it arose." Its origin is a vexed question. Professor Baird prefers to attribute the name to "some trivial circumstance that has completely passed into oblivion."\*

At an assembly of Notables, August, 1560, the new chancellor, Michel de l'Hospital, who, though brought into power by the Lorraines, proved to be of just and noble character and a wise statesman, made a liberal address. He had before said, "What need have we of these tortures and flames? Let our virtues and orderly life defend us against heresy." The Bishop of Valence and the Archbishop of Vienne heartily defended the Protestant petition offered by Coligny, and denounced the abuses in the Church. Calvin now urged the King of Navarre to gather a body of nobles together and by the *moral force* of the demonstration secure from the coming States-general suitable terms for the Protestants; but he was incapable of any bold action. So urgent, on the other hand, did the Catholic party become at the court that a general crusade against the Protestants was planned by Francis II.; but he suddenly died, December 5, 1560.

Charles IX. succeeded his brother at ten years of age. Catharine easily persuaded Navarre to yield her the regency. On the fifth day of the new reign the States-general was convened at Orleans, its first session since 1483. The address of the chancellor, L'Hospital, is remarkable, as showing how strong a hold the prejudice of the age could have even upon

\* Baird, i, 397. See especially an Appendix in Soldan, i, 608-625.

a mind so liberal. Religious opinions must, in his view, find some common expression in order to peace. "It is folly," he said, "to hope for peace, rest, and friendship between persons of opposite creeds. A Frenchman and an Englishman, holding a common faith, will entertain stronger affection for each other than two citizens of the same city who disagree about their theological tenets." A universal council is the panacea. The assembly was prorogued till a later date. These were days of prosperity for the Huguenots. The curiosity to hear the preachers grew. "The records of the chapters of cathedrals during this period of universal spiritual agitation are little else, we are told, than a list of cases of ecclesiastical discipline instituted against chaplains, canons, and even higher dignitaries for having attended the Huguenot service." A further tolerant edict from the king, in April, gave great impulse to the movement, so that Calvin wrote to Bullinger, (May 24, 1561,) "The eagerness with which pastors are sought for on all hands from us is not less than that with which sacerdotal offices are wont to be solicited among the papists. . . . And on our part we desire to fulfill these earnest prayers to the extent of our ability, but we are thoroughly exhausted." Letters from different parts of France, written about this time to Calvin and other leaders, recently discovered in Paris and Geneva, "present a vivid picture of the condition of whole districts and provinces." But the hopes of the Huguenots were again struck down by the "Edict of July," which forbade "attendance, with or without arms, upon *conventicles* in which preaching was held or the holy sacraments administered."

In the States-general, again assembled at Pontoise, the most radical propositions were formally urged by the Tiers Etat, and a national council to settle religious difficulties was demanded. Catharine, however, who herself desired peace, had projected a conference which should be under her own control, and had assembled at Poissy all the bishops of France "to take into consideration the religious reformation which the times imperatively demanded." In this presence all Frenchmen, "who had any correction of religious affairs at heart," were invited to appear with perfect safety. This was the celebrated Colloquy of Poissy, the only national assembly convened for the special discussion of religious affairs, which opened September 9, 1561.

Catharine had addressed a remarkable letter to the pope, urging the necessity of ecclesiastical reform. Beza had been specially invited to the Colloquy, and arrived at Paris three weeks after the opening of the session. Without the privilege of seats, the Protestant ministers were obliged to address the assembly from behind a bar. When Beza entered he reverently knelt upon the floor, and pronounced a portion of the Genevan liturgy. "A deep solemnity fell upon the assembly. According to one account of the scene, even the Roman cardinals stood with uncovered heads while the Huguenot minister prayed." Though the conference lasted two months, the result was a nullity in view of the object proposed. Catharine cast the whole blame upon "the conceit of the Cardinal Lorraine." The historian rather attributes the failure to the intrigues of the papal legate. The "Edict of Restitution" was obtained by the prelates, (on promise of money for the Spanish war,) which required the Huguenots to surrender all the churches hitherto occupied by them. It was only with great difficulty, as might be supposed, that the Huguenots were persuaded to submit to the enforcement of this edict; for they had in those times occupied the churches "wherever they constituted the bulk of the population." They continued rapidly to increase. In Paris their assemblies often numbered as many as 6,000 persons. Marriages and baptisms took place at the court "after the fashion of Geneva." Such were the indications that the king himself would soon become Huguenot, that "the leading Protestants at court could not hide their delight."

It is difficult to determine the real number of Protestants in the country at this period. Some accounts, which pretended to an estimate, put them as high as one fourth or one third of the population. Professor Baird deems that one tenth is a figure nearer the sober truth. The Protestants were, at least, specially strong among the nobility. They had the artisan class in the cities, though generally not so prevalent in those places as in the rural districts. Protestantism made less progress in the north than in other parts of France.

A promised Assembly of Notables took place at St. Germain, in January, 1562, and on the seventeenth of the month the edict known as the "*Edict of January*" was signed, which, while it maintained the "Edict of Restitution," repealed the

"Edict of July," and allowed unarmed assemblies for worship by day outside city walls, though the building of churches anywhere was prohibited. Other clauses insured the protection and oversight of the government. "From the moment of the publication of this charter—imperfect and inadequate as it manifestly was—the Huguenots ceased to be outlaws. . . Unhappily for France, this solemn recognition of Protestant rights was scarcely conceded by representatives of the entire nation before an attempt was made by a desperate faction to annul and overthrow it by intrigue and violence. . . The contention thenceforth was, on the one part, for the overthrow of the moderate rights insured by the Edict of January, and, on the other, for their defense."

Antoine of Navarre now openly gave his adhesion to the Romanists. It was the opinion of Beza that had he remained firm the civil war might have been averted. His queen, the high-minded Jeanne d'Albret, one of the most illustrious characters among the Huguenots, would not be persuaded. "Sooner than go to the mass," she said, "had I my kingdom and my son in my hand, I would cast them both into the depth of the sea."

Throckmorton's letter to Queen Elizabeth exhibits in a vivid way the attitude of different parties in the court at St. Germain in this crisis. Catharine, careful for her own power, and not interested for either religion, through jealousy of the Constable Montmorency, removes him from court; whereupon the King of Navarre, attributing this step to the influence of the Châtillons, insists that they shall remove also. Catharine then sends for the Prince of Condé, who is sick in Paris, and quite favors the continuance of the Reformed preaching in St. Germain. So ready was she to turn to either party. The Guises were at Savern, seeking the favor of the German Protestant princes, but did not deceive them. The Duke of Guise, on his return, passed through Vassy; and the great struggle which was to arouse and desolate the whole country was now invoked by a wanton attack of the duke, or at least of his followers, upon a congregation of Huguenots quietly worshiping in that town. The duke pleaded in justification that the attack was not premeditated, but that he was provoked to it. Notwithstanding Catharine's prohibition, he entered Paris at the head of 2,000

horse, and there met, by chance, the Prince of Condé, riding with a company of noblemen, students, and citizens to a preaching place. There was no collision. Condé subsequently retired with his small force to Meaux. Catharine was in great perplexity from which side to seek protection for herself and the king. Soubise and L'Hospital pressed her with arguments on the Protestant side. "Sometimes," says a recently discovered contemporary account, "they believed that they had gained every thing, and she was ready to set off for Condé's camp." Her letters to Condé appeal to him for aid. But the latter did not feel sufficiently strong to move. Guise, on the other hand, with a considerable force, proceeded to St. Germain and brought the king and his mother to Paris. "Weeping and sad, Charles is said to have repeatedly exclaimed against being led away contrary to his will." Thus it would seem that, by a mere turn of events, which a little stronger force with Condé at the moment would have prevented, the Catholic party, instead of the Huguenot, stood, at the outset, as protectors of the king. Catharine had no love for the Guises. Condé summoned Coligny to his side at Meaux. D'Andelot was also with him, and, at the head of 1,500 horse, "the flower of the French nobility," though "better armed with courage than with corselets," he moved upon Orleans, and was welcomed to the city, whence he issued to the world his justification for taking up arms.

We cannot here follow the course of events during the civil wars, but have rather sought to trace as clearly as brevity would permit the growth and circumstances of the Huguenot party, until the hour when it began to stand in armor for its rights. The Catholic party were, at the outset, amazed at the strength developed by their opponents. Of the marked incidents during the campaigns we only note that, on the one side, the Duke of Guise was assassinated in his camp before Orleans, (1563,) by a fanatical Spaniard, Poltrot, who accused Coligny and Beza of complicity in the deed. Both issued a full refutation of the charge. On the other side, the Prince of Condé was treacherously killed in cold blood, after the battle of Jarnac, (1569.) The same year D'Andelot, a valiant soldier, died of fever. The rumor of poisoning in this case is discredited. The young Henry of Navarre was now the nominal head of the



Huguenots, but the responsibility rested on Coligny. With indomitable spirit he rose from the dejection that followed the battle of Moncontour, and made his memorable march from the south toward Paris, more boldly conceived, because more hazardous, than Sherman's march to the sea. He arrived, superior to all opposition, at his own castle of Châtillon. Catharine "returned to the conviction she had expressed in former years, that the attempt to exterminate the Huguenots by force of arms was hopeless." The peace of St. Germain, the most favorable the Huguenots had yet attained, and, in our author's view, a sincere compact, was signed October 8, 1570, which closed the third war.

Now followed a brief period of quiet and hope for the Huguenots, yet big with a terrible fate which party jealousy and personal animosity, kindling the flames of religious fanaticism, were about to evoke. There was much talk of the marriage of Henry of Anjou, the king's brother, with Elizabeth of England. "Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis both gave, just now, abundant evidence of their disposition to draw closer to England and the Huguenots of France and the Gueux of Holland, while suffering the breach between France and Spain to become more marked." Coligny was summoned to court to prepare an enterprise in aid of the Netherlands, and warmly welcomed both by Catharine and the king. The Guises and the Spanish ambassador retired in disgust. While Alva was besieging Mons, (May, 1572,) and the Prince of Orange ready to cross the Rhine to its relief with 25,000 troops, Catharine inclined to favor the admiral's cherished designs in behalf of the Netherlands; but, on the defeat of Genlis, who was sent with a small Huguenot force to relieve Mons in June, she decided for the Spanish party. "The fate of the Huguenots had been quivering in the balance," and fell now against them.

Such was the fickleness of Catharine; the most prominent trait in her character. Our author particularly urges this view. He quotes the Italian Barboro: "Her irresolution is extreme. She conceives new plans from hour to hour; within the compass of a single day, between morning and evening, she will change her mind three times." Professor Baird remarks that Catharine has been an enigma, "whose secret has escaped so many simply because they looked for something deep and re-



condite, *where the solution lay almost upon the surface.*" The Duke of Alva, however, at the Bayonne Conference, admired her "circumspection," which he declared "he had never seen equaled." Professor Fisher, in like manner, concludes: "She was fully capable of weaving two schemes simultaneously, and of accommodating herself to either, as circumstances might dictate." As to her duplicity, Martin, who is sober in his judgments, and Michelet, use the strongest expressions for it. The same view, Professor Baird finds, as can be easily understood, not inconsistent with what he elsewhere says. "Her Machiavelian training, the enforced hypocrisy of her married life, the trimming policy she had thought herself compelled to pursue during the minority of the kings, her two sons, had eaten from her soul, even to its roots, truthfulness—that pure plant of heaven's sowing."

Coligny now more actively urged on the war in behalf of the Netherlands. He displayed before the king an undertaking "fitted to call forth the nobler faculties of his soul;" recalled to his mind the glory of former reigns; promised a large addition to the realm in the Low Countries, an expanded navy and marine, France influential in Europe, with religious peace at home. In his enthusiasm he went so far as to urge that the king should shake off the influence of his mother, as being prejudicial to the true interests of France, and find some occupation abroad for his brother, Henry of Anjou. Catharine, learning this, entreats her son with tears, and both are decided against the admiral's scheme by the false report that Elizabeth was about to withdraw her troops from Flanders. But Coligny again gains the ear of the king; and Catharine, fearing that even if France should prove victorious in the proposed war, "her own influence would fall into hopeless eclipse," now resolves to forestall such a result, and, for the purpose, "falls back upon a scheme which had been long floating dimly in her mind"—the destruction of the Huguenot leaders. The idea that any treacherous and bloody plot was definitely formed before this late day is discredited by Professor Baird. He argues that no such plan was concocted at the Bayonne Conference in June, 1565, whatever political league may have been there formed in the interest of Catholicism.\* Most judicious histori

\* See the full discussion in Baird, ii, 167-176.

ans of the present day, as Martin, Soldan, and Baum, take the same view, and they are supported by recently discovered documents. Martin concludes from Catharine's insistence that the proposed marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret, the king's sister, should take place in Paris, that there was in her mind, "if not a project, at least a sinister half-thought," (*arrière pensée*.) Guizot reasons that a massacre of the Huguenot leaders had been long premeditated, but at the time and in the form in which it took place it was a sudden event, and a surprise even to the conspirators.\* Professor Baird says: "It is impossible that Catharine distinctly premeditated a treacherous blow at the Huguenots, simply because she rarely premeditated any thing very long. I am aware that this estimate of the queen is at variance with the views which have obtained the widest currency; but it is the estimate which history, carefully read, seems to require us to adopt." †

The above-mentioned marriage, which drew the Huguenot leaders to Paris, had been talked of from the childhood of the parties, was long favored by the king and opposed by the pope, being bitterly denounced by the Catholic clergy, and was not, in itself, designed as a trap for the Huguenots. The latter had acquired confidence, or sought to cultivate it, on either side. They gave up four cities to the king; among them La Rochelle. Coligny declared that continued suspicion was folly. He readily agreed to the introduction of troops into Paris. Indeed, he longed for permanent peace, and was willing to run any risk to secure it. He fully trusted the king, even after the first attempt at assassination. The brave course he took, notwithstanding its fatal issue, doubtless rendered, in the juncture of affairs abroad, a high service to the general cause of Protestantism in Europe.‡ The wedding took place on the 18th of August, the festivities continuing three days. The king had lately heard of Alva's cruelty to French prisoners, and his attempt to extract testimony from them by torture, which put him in a rage against the Spaniards. It was then that "Catharine and her favorite son, Henry of Anjou, (afterward Henry III.,) came to the definite determination to put the great Huguenot out of the way." We have, in the confession of Anjou himself,

\* "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 376.

† Baird, ii, 238.

‡ See an interesting passage in Michelet, "Hist. de France," ix, 404-406.

a partial history of the formation of the plot.\* The genuineness of this document is accepted by our author; so likewise by Martin, though it is doubted by Ranke. According to this account, Anjou's fears were awakened by the angry air of the king after his interviews with Coligny, and he and his mother then consulted with the Duchess of Nemours, widow of the murdered Duke of Guise, who bitterly hated Coligny, being persuaded of his complicity in the crime. She, enlisting her son, Henry of Guise, and the Duke d'Anmale, "*herself arranged the details of the plan.*"† We can, perhaps, know nothing more certainly than this of its origination. Tavannes has charged it upon Catharine,‡ and that has been the common view. We know that Anjou was active in the scenes of the 24th, and see what reason he had for hating Coligny. The motives of the Duchess and the young Duke of Guise to a deed of blood are apparent. Personal hate was evidently the spark that kindled this destructive fire, and went far to feed the flame. That Catharine should at least have been predominantly active in these pressing moments, we can well believe from that peculiarity of her character so aptly expressed by Michelet. Being dexterously ready to join her talents to any cause which seemed about to prevail, "she thus, although at the last, exercised an immense influence," (*ainsi quoique à la suite elle influence infiniment.*)§ Salviati, the papal nuncio, whose report is credited by Professor Baird, wrote that "Madame, the regent, . . . having decided upon the step a few days before, caused the admiral to be fired upon," but that this was "without the knowledge of the king."

Upon the incidents of the massacre we do not dwell. The treacherous shot at the admiral, Friday morning, missed its purpose, and left him only wounded. Here was a frightful situation for the conspirators. Their plot would be revealed, and all would be over with them. The king was enraged and threatened vengeance. Catharine must, perforce, go with the

\* "Discours du Roy Henry III." It may be found appended to the *Mémoires de Villeroy*, in the Petitot "Collection de Mémoires," Sér. 1, vol. xlv.

† Baird, ii, 435.

‡ The discussion of the question as to who is chiefly chargeable with blame in the case has been naturally much affected by the national prejudices of the French and Italian chroniclers and historians.

§ "Hist. de France," ix, 363.

court to visit the bedside of Coligny. She there thought herself to have received new provocation. She took council again with those who had been already participants in crime, meeting them in the garden of the Tuilleries. Now it was, in the judgment of reliable authorities which we have already quoted, that the plan of a general slaughter was first or definitely developed. It is true there is some reason to believe that both in the city and the provinces the train had been already laid in view of such an occurrence;\* but it has been more recently argued that Catharine, for her part, would never have fixed upon or consented to so bold an undertaking until driven to it by such an overmastering influence as the anxiety and terror of this unexpected hour. All the witnesses, of different nationalities and parties, testify to the natural timidity and irresoluteness of Catharine. Excessive fear now impelled her to a course of utterly unreasonable, unrestricted cruelty. She imagined there was no hope of escape from the existing peril but in the entire destruction of at least the leaders of the opposite party. The conspirators were of common mind from the same or other considerations.

But the king must be won over; and the plotters hastened to fill his mind with the falsehoods they had forged. They said they had intelligence that the Huguenots were rising; that they had already sent to the German princes for levies of troops; that their alliances were such as to make their military strength far superior to the king's; the Catholic party were determined, unless the king acted with them, to elect a captain-general, who would take the king's place. All that was needed now, they said, was an order for the death of Coligny. After some parleying, suddenly a change came over the king, and he went to the very extreme of violence, doubtless carried away by a sudden and terrible passion, through the working of his imagination upon the idea of the dangers which the conspirators said surrounded him. He eagerly asked if there was no other way of escape. By one account, his mother, as her last argument, whispered in his ear: "Perhaps, sire, you are afraid." He rose quickly from his chair, enjoining silence, and "told us," says Anjou, "*in anger and in fury*, swearing by God's death, that since we thought it good that the admiral should be killed,

\* There is no pretense to a full treatment of the question in this article.

he would have it so ; but that with him all the Huguenots of France must be killed, in order that not one might remain to reproach him hereafter." Thus the furies, brought by evil counselors, took possession of the poor young king ;—he was but twenty-two years of age. That the fatal order was given by Charles in a violent storm of passion, in which he hardly knew what he did, (even notwithstanding his persistence in the same determination,) seems also in some degree probable from the account in Sully's "Memoirs," of his words to the physician Ambrose Paré, who was at his side during all the hours of the massacre : "I do not know," he said, "what ails me ; for these two or three days past both body and mind have been quite upset. I burn with fever ; all around me grin pale, blood-stained faces. Ah, Ambrose ! if they had but spared the weak and the innocent." Of Charles it has been said : "His virtues were his own ; his vices the faults of his training." One of his tutors taught him to blaspheme. His admirers praised him for his skill in deception.\* He was capable of devoted affection. His natural eloquence and love of music and verse would remind one of Francis I. and Margaret ; but he had a strange passion for wild sports and dealing blows upon beasts in the chase which alarmed people. Then a fit of somber melancholy would take him, and he shut himself up, or exhausted himself with exercise in a forest until overcome by a fever. A portrait of him at sixteen years of age shows an eye somewhat wild, with an oblique glance, but not devoid of intelligence. His character, according to all accounts, evinced a marked change for the worse after the massacre—an increased impatience and violence ; his features lost their gentleness, and remorseful visions, such as troubled him in the fatal hours of the crime, haunted his death-bed two years later.

Concerning this dark and terrible event, the remembrance of which cannot be absent from an account of the "Rise of the Huguenots ;" concerning the manner in which the treacherous scheme was carried out, including the slaughter of Coligny on Saturday night ; the general bloodshed on the 24th ; the massacre in the provinces ; the satisfaction expressed by the perpetrators ; the decided approval pronounced by the pope at

\* So Claude Haton : "Fut une grâce de Dieu comment le roi sut si bien dissimuler."



Rome, (after the deed,\*) which cannot be explained away nor excused,† we can have no further words. We have only sought in this connection, by following the thread given us in Professor Baird's work, and the judgment of other late historians, to indicate the way to a somewhat clear understanding of the manner in which the event originated, believing that a better knowledge of the character of those engaged in bringing it about would also aid to a more just conception of the crime. The customs of the times, it may be remembered, as in the case of the earlier persecutions, go far, though we cannot say to palliate the deed, to soften our estimate of the extreme guilt of the perpetrators. They are conspicuous in their acts, and yet, if charity can reach the most dreadful offenses, should be somewhat screened from the glare of our condemnation in the shadow of their surroundings. "Massacre," says Guizot, "was an idea, a habit, we might almost say a practice, familiar to this age. . . . We have cited fifteen or twenty cases of massacre which, in the reign of Charles IX., from 1562 to 1572, grievously troubled and steeped in blood various parts of France without leaving any lasting traces in history."‡

The king, in a circular letter to the several courts on Sunday, charged the affair upon the Guises, as though it were but an *émeute* between two factions; but the Guises compelled him to assume the responsibility, which he did before Parliament on the 26th, charging Coligny with the guilt of conspiracy, for the support of which accusation not the slightest evidence has ever appeared. "Not a scrap of a letter could be found inculcating Coligny—not the slightest approach to a hint that it would be well to make way with the king or any of the royal family. The most private manuscripts of the admiral, unlike those of many courtiers even in our own day, contained not a disrespectful expression, nothing that could be twisted into a mark of disaffection or treason." The Admiral Coligny is the one supreme figure which stands in the memory as we retrace this history, and the eye is fixed with unsurpassed admiration upon his sublime sacrifice of himself at the last. We have no

\* Professor Baird acquits Gregory XIII. of any previous "knowledge of the disaster impending over the admiral and the Huguenots," ii, 574.

† Notwithstanding Bishop Spaulding's attempt in the "Nation" of Feb. 5, 1880.

‡ "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 375.



space here to depict that truly virtuous, grave, self-reliant, frank and trustful nature, great in thought and great in heart, as set forth so worthily in the work before us. Montesquieu says of him that he carried only the glory of France in his heart; and Bossuet ascribes to him a lofty courage and patriotic purpose. Pressensé has lately said: "Coligny shows us what depth and earnestness the brilliant French nature might acquire after receiving the stamp of the Protestant faith. He is the ideal Frenchman."\* The new "*Life of Coligny*," by Count Jules Delabord, is a most welcome contribution to the history of French Protestantism and to the universal store of Christian biography.

It remains to indicate two or three lines of special study in connection with the work under review, for which its own pages furnish much interesting material. We refer to the character exhibited in its different phases and under different circumstances by the Huguenots; to the different causes and circumstances promotive of their progress; to the rapidity and manner of their growth at different periods, and to the conditions under which the origin and development of French Protestantism in the sixteenth century may be put in comparison with its development and prospects to-day. The claims of the narrative have filled the allotted space in this article.

The spirit of the Huguenots was not crushed by the massacre. A fourth and fifth civil war followed that event before the painful death of Charles IX., May 30, 1574. At a bold petition which the Huguenots presented from their two military kingdoms of Nismes and Montaubon, Catharine exclaimed, "Why, if your Condé himself were alive, and in the heart of the kingdom with 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and held the chief cities in his power, he would not make half so great demands!" At the end of the period our author concludes with these words: "A full half-century from the first promulgation of the reformed doctrines of Lefèvre d'Étaples found the friends of the purer faith more resolute than ever in its assertion, despite fire, massacre, and open warfare. No candid beholder could deny that the system of persecution had thus far proved an utter failure." Again we commend to the reader this admirable work of Professor Baird, the fruit of so much conscientious

\* "*Études contemporaines.*"

tious and painstaking study, and so rich in the results of recent historical discoveries.

NOTE.—In view of some criticism from other quarters, we ought, perhaps, to observe that Professor Baird is not to be understood as "apologizing," in his extended notice of the subject, for Queen Margaret's *Decameron*.

In reference to the remark on page 105, about the means and methods of propagating the Reformed faith in France, we would call attention to the interesting passages in the work under review, vol. i, pp. 400-403.

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#### ART. VII.—PHASES OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FAITH AND INFIDELITY IN GERMANY.

THREE hundred years ago Germany was convulsed by the great conflict of the Reformation. It was at that time, more than any other country, the battle-ground of the opposing forces. For centuries Rome had enslaved the mind of man. Germany did more than any other country to break those iron fetters, and to liberate not only the mind but also the conscience of man. Again Germany is engaged in a great conflict; it is grappling with a terrible foe, a foe entirely different from the one with which it was engaged at the time of the Reformation, (although we must confess that the question with regard to Rome is also not yet settled.) Not across the Alps nor across the Rhine have we to look for this great enemy, for it has its stronghold in the very heart of Germany—it is a foe in their own land. We are referring to the great conflict between faith and infidelity, between the religion of the Bible and rationalism, pantheism, and materialism, with all their consequences. This conflict, we think, is fiercer and of greater importance than any that Germany has ever had with Rome or France.

Germany is, more than any other, the land of philosophical thinking, of scientific and historic research, and of the most radical and bold criticism; and the conflict with regard to religion, in which Germany is at present engaged, is, therefore, in an eminent sense of the word, a conflict of mind with mind. Taking all this into consideration, and also the present religious condition of Germany, we say not too much in asserting, that Germany is, to-day, more than any other country, *the* battle-ground of the Christian faith, for nowhere else is the conflict

so bitter and so fierce. It is, therefore, with a deep interest that Christians of America and England are watching the religious, social, and philosophic movements in Germany; for the whole Protestant world seems to feel that the conflict between faith and infidelity must there come to a decision. Dr. Cremer, in the late assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, held at Basel, made the remark: "On all sides the conflict is raging. It is true, the contest with Christianity is as wide as the world, (*Weltkampf*,) in which every-where humanity stands before the question, What think ye of Christ? But in the German Evangelical Church this conflict is more violent than anywhere else. The turning away from God, the more than Julian hatred of the Church and Christianity, has nowhere found such a strong expression as in Germany."

Let us take a bird's-eye view of the religious condition of Germany and some of its causes and consequences.

Thirty-six per cent. of the population of Germany are Roman Catholic, meaning by Germany those States that form the so-called German Empire, of which Prussia is the head, which excludes the German provinces in Austria, which are almost entirely Roman Catholic. It is Protestant Germany with which we have mostly to do in speaking of the great conflict, for there it is most intense.

From a Christian point of view the religious condition of Germany looks deplorable enough. There is unquestionably a great "chasm" between religion, or the Church, and what is generally called culture. In Berlin and other great cities thousands never see the inside of a church, excepting at certain times; for instance, when a noted preacher is expected to occupy the pulpit, or at marriages, confirmation of the children, funerals, etc.

Dr. Christlieb says: "A glance into the churches shows us at once the rupture between the majority of the educated and the Christian faith. Education is concentrated within our great cities, and it is here where we find the emptiest churches, if we find such anywhere, for with rapid increase of the population the multiplication of the churches has not in the least kept pace. In former times one could say with Taust: 'The message do I hear; alas, I lack the faith!' but now very often not even the message is heard. In several parishes in Berlin and Hamburg

only one to two per cent. of the population are regular church-goers." \* It is several years ago since this was written, but it is still true, for, if any thing, things have become worse in this respect.

How deep into worldliness and infidelity a great part of the population has fallen the following extracts, from men who are competent to judge, will show. Professor Cremer, speaking of the religious condition of Germany, in the late assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, held at Basle, says: "A gloomy aspect presents the mammonism of our people, the degeneration of the German youth, the pool of vileness and godlessness into which the social question has sunk." A German statesman writes: "Our commonalty has, with a few exceptions; lost its entire religious base, upon which its ideas of duty and morality rest. Upon a foundation that is so thoroughly destroyed, as the Christian convictions of our middle and working classes, it is impossible to build up anew. These people understand no appeal to their religious convictions." †

In the first month of the year 1878 the Socialists demanded of the people a general coming out from the State Church, (*Massenaustritt*.) "This demand," says a German writer, "was followed by a mass meeting on the evening of the 23d of January, in the great hall of the *Handwerkerverein*. The papers generally agreed to the fact that since 1872, that is, since the great strike of the machine builders and colossal mass meeting, Berlin never has seen such a mass of people gathered together in one place as at this time." But it would be a great mistake if we were to apply to the whole of Germany what we find in her capital in this respect. The church-going people number in the great cities, on an average, about eight to ten per cent. of the population, and in the smaller towns and villages a great deal more, while there are many districts where almost every one goes to church.

What may astonish the American or Englishman most, when he visits Germany, is the observance, or rather the non-observance, of the Sabbath. By law work is prohibited, especially such work as is annoying to others; but this law, like so many others, is in most places a dead letter. In some places there is

\* "Moderne Zweifel am Christlichen Glauben," p. 84.

† "Deutscher Volksfreund," vol. ix, p. 316.

more business done on Sundays than on any other days of the week. "After the attack upon the life of the Emperor, the police regulations were made more strict, and during the principal services of the day, from nine to eleven A. M., and from two to three P. M., all shops every-where were ordered to be shut; but there are only a few States and towns where the shops are not allowed to be open at all. The postal service is limited to shorter hours; letters and parcels are not delivered so often as on other days, and there are similar restrictions on the telegraph service. On the other hand, the railway traffic is left quite free, and not only do the trains run as on other days, but by almost every line there are also extra trains for the convenience of the holiday-makers. For example, the Rhine railway runs every Sunday and holiday, from the 15th of May to October, three extra trains in the afternoon, and other lines do the same." (Fr. von Schulte.)

One of the darkest appearances in Germany is the so-called *Socialism*, the party of the Social-Democrats. This party forms the extremest infidelity, and is filled with more than a pagan hatred toward every thing that pertains to Christianity or the Church. Its watch-word, as Lange says, is: "Dominion of the masses over the educated classes of the nation; dominion of the fist over the head; dominion of the sensual enjoyments over the inner man; a new world, in which force takes the place of right, robbery the place of property, and free-love the place of marriage." The leaders of the French Revolution and of the Commune are extolled as heroes and martyrs of the people. The spirit that animated many of the leaders of Socialism can be seen in the fact that the "*Volksstaat*," one of their organs, in full earnestness, asked the question a short time ago: "Was it possible for Socialism to go to work with more prudence, moderation, and timidity than it did in Paris in the spring of 1871?"\* That this party has gained considerable influence in the country, no one that is acquainted with the social and political condition of that country will deny. The government is doing its best to suppress it; but whether such a movement can be entirely overcome by laws and police forces we very much doubt. It can now be kept down, but if it keeps on increasing it will finally break forth more furious than a

\* "*Der Socialismus*," by Heinrich Geffcken, p. 8.

stream that has broken the dam that held back its floods. The general hard times and the poverty of the working-classes help to strengthen this movement.

It is especially in the press that the great conflict between infidelity and Christianity is fought, and a glance at the periodicals shows us at once how intense this contest has become. The secular press, which is, especially in Berlin, almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews,\* breathes a very bitter spirit toward every thing that pertains to the Church. An English correspondent of one of the American papers wrote from Germany that his language had no word so malicious as that with which the German papers love to designate Christians, the word *Mucker*. Dr. Mühlhauser says: † "Not only a secular press has grown up, but an unreligious press has grown over our heads, and in it a deadly contest against Christianity is already beginning. The press is, above all other things, the means through which the attempt is made, and not without success, to draw our German people away from the Church and Christianity, and to offer a compensation in our modern culture. If our development goes on in this way much longer, the rent (riss) between Christians and non-Christians must become a yawning wound, through which our nation, in spite of its newly-gained political power and unity, will bleed itself to death."

In looking at these deplorable religious and social conditions of Germany, two questions present themselves to the mind: What is and has been the cause of all this? and, What will be the consequences of such a state of things? Interesting as the consideration of these questions might be, we have space for a very brief and incomplete answer only. Not a little of the blame for these deplorable conditions falls upon the Church itself. She, in a certain sense, reaps what she has been sowing for many years. It never would have come to this if she had always done her duty; but "if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted!" The dead orthodoxy of the last century prepared the way for rationalism, and this again, combined with the pantheism of German philosophy, more or less for the materialism of our time. Whereto should the poor

\* Berlin alone numbers more than forty-five thousand Jews, more than the whole of England or France.

† "Christenthum und Presse," p. 4.



people go, when it found in the Church nothing but the dry religion of reason instead of the bread of life. Thousands remained nominal Christians, but knew not what religion was, and cared little, if any thing, for the Church; and thousands despaired of all religion, and fell into the open arms of infidelity. "Pantheism tried to dethrone God the Father, rationalism tried to dethrone God the Son, and now materialism is trying to take the crown off from the head of man."

And also for the evil of Sabbath-breaking the Church is more or less at fault; and also to a great degree the reformers and theologians of the sixteenth century. The continental theologians never laid stress upon the observance of the Sabbath as they should have done. In Luther's Catechism the third \* commandment reads: "Thou shalt keep the *holiday*," (Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen,) instead: "Remember the *Sabbath day*, to keep it holy." Now, although Luther undoubtedly meant the Sabbath by *Feiertag*, yet it seems that the majority of the Germans does not so understand it. Therefore, we find that most German Christians attach greater importance to the keeping of the Feiertage, as Christmas and Good Friday, than upon the keeping of the Sabbath. German churches are generally crowded on holidays, for thousands go to church then that do not see the inside of a church the whole year around.

Calvin taught that to rest from labor on Sunday was no general duty. ("Inst.," ii, 8, 28-32.) And still further went the theologians, those of the Lutheran as well as the Reformed Church. They did not only admit—wherein they were right—that the fourth commandment does not bind us to the observance of the seventh day of the week, that is, Saturday, as Sabbath, but—and herein they were wrong—they claimed that it does not even bind us to the every seventh day; that is, if the Church had thought it best to change the length of the week from seven to ten days, observing every tenth day as Sabbath, she might have done so without violating the fourth command. So taught all the theologians of the continent; the English theologians making an honorable exception.† Now,

\* In Luther's Catechism the first and second commandments are counted as one, which brings the fourth to be the third. To fill the number ten the last is divided into two.

† Compare "Ebrard's Dogmatik," vol. i, p. 548; also his "Kirchen und Dogmen. Geschichte," vol. iv, p. 92; also "Staat v. Sonntag," by Rieger, p. 24.

if this was the teaching of the theologians, what can we expect of the people? But the German theologians do not now thus nullify the Christian Sabbath. Their eyes are being opened on this question; and it is high time. We must, however, not be astonished that so many Germans in this country find our Sabbath laws such a burden to them.

But we will consider the other question, What will be the harvest that will grow up from this seed? What have we to expect if the people become more and more estranged from God? Certainly nothing good. What the results of infidelity and godlessness are France has shown us plainly enough. Think of the horrors of the French Revolution and of the terrors of the Commune! Even philosophers are alarmed to see the masses of the people philosophical and make practical use of their godless theories. The threatenings of Socialists, the repeated attacks upon the life of the German Emperor, and upon other crowned heads of Europe, speak plainly enough. If the Churches are becoming empty, the prisons are the more filled. Facts are stubborn things, and to them we appeal. "Beside the empty churches," said Mr. Sarasin, at Basel, "you can see the overfilled State prisons and reform institutions. In 1878 Berlin held 60,642 prisoners for examination, (Untersuchungsgefangene,) while the number was only 31,882 in 1875." This gives an increase of almost a hundred per cent. in three years!

A writer in the "Daheim"\* says: "That the crimes had increased in the last decennium at a fearful rate we knew well enough; but now we are in a situation to prove it by figures. Mr. Stursberg, of Dusseldorf, the agent of the Rhenish Westphalia Prison Association, has given us, in an interesting little pamphlet, 'Die Zunahme der Vergehen und Verbrechen und ihre Ursachen,' more than abundant material as regards this matter." From his figures we obtain the following results: "In the seven years from 1871 to 1877 the number of crimes in the Prussian State has increased 100 per cent., while the population has increased only 4.4 per cent. from 1871 to 1875. But in the different categories of the crimes the increase was very unequal; for example, the crimes of immorality increased in the above-named space of time 294 per cent., murder,

\* Vol. xv, p. 23.

138; fraud, 290; perjury, 77; arson, 77; infanticide, 76. In Würtemberg and Baden the crimes of immorality experienced a fearful increase; the same may be said of Saxony. The language of these figures can be understood only too plainly; and it becomes more impressive still when we hear that not only the crimes have had such an increase, but also the number of criminals; and among those again the criminals under eighteen years have had a larger increase than the older ones." To this it has come. "Whosoever will not hear must feel." This proverb can also be applied to Germany; and still more can we apply the words of Scripture: "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." (Hos. viii, 7.)

But not only do these criminals come from the lower classes of the people, but the so-called cultured classes yield a considerable number of them. Nobeling, the would-be murderer of the German Emperor, was an educated man. We see that culture, that is, knowledge—for that is generally understood by culture in our day—does not make it alone. The heart needs education (*Bildung*) as well as the head.

But not only crimes increase at a fearful rate, but also suicides. In Switzerland there falls one suicide to every 4,450 of the inhabitants. Now what can be the cause of this? Nothing else but the despair of infidelity, the so-called *pessimism*. Pessimism is the last consequence of materialism and atheism, the darkest and most gloomy form of infidelity. Materialism teaches that there is no heaven on the other side of the grave—heaven is here. The philosophers of pessimism, Arthur Schopenhauer and Eduard von Hartmann, arise before the people, point to the unbounded misery and wretchedness of life, to sickness, death, and the grave, and say, with a clear, plain voice: The doctrine that heaven is on earth is an infernal lie; earth is no heaven but a hell, and not only a hell, but a hell without an end or an outlet. Pessimism is the philosophy of despair and of death. It shows us where man loses all faith in a living God and a divine providence, he despairs of life and of every thing else. While infidelity plunges the masses of the people into sensuality, it leads the more cultivated to despair: and it is true what Count de Maistre says: "The most cultivated and talented men feel, when they are given to infidelity, the misery of being more than any other. In vain

do they seek help in science and art; all their work is only toil without an end and without true satisfaction; their weariness of life increases with their age." It is well known how weary Alexander von Humboldt was of life; he thought it a great misfortune for any man to have a brilliant mind; the greatest blessing was to be born a blockhead.

Whereto pessimism leads a person, the following pessimistic confessions of several infidels will show. The poet Lenan says:

"Loveless and without God! the way is dreary,  
The wind upon the streets is cold: and you?  
The entire world is in despair and weary."

David Friedrich Strauss confessed: "The giving up of the faith in a divine providence is certainly one of the most sensitive losses that can befall man. You see yourself placed within the awful machine of the world, with its iron-teethed wheels, revolving with terrible rapidity, its heavy hammers falling stunningly to the ground—in this awful machinery man sees himself placed helpless and alone, not a moment safe, but that he may be crushed or torn to pieces within these roaring wheels and falling hammers with which he sees himself continually surrounded. This feeling of being abandoned is indeed terrible."

Prince Herman Pückler-Muskau wrote to Ludmilla Assing: "Do you know Schopenhauer and his philosophy, who could have used for his motto Dante's words written over the gates of hell? This is my man now!" And in another place he writes: "It is really not so absurd that Indian philosophers, and now also the German philosopher Schopenhauer, have come to the conclusion that true happiness exists only in absolute nothingness and extinction—only with the despair that it is impossible to be attained." Another writer complains: "It brings a disconsolate emptiness into life to know nothing else than to be eaten up by worms after you die."† Schopenhauer himself led a very unhappy life.

This pessimism is moving like a dark cloud over the firmament of German thought. "At first it was but a speck in the far-off horizon, scarcely visible in the brilliant day of the absolute philosophy. It has been gradually rising and increasing. It is overshadowing the popular mind. It threatens to descend

\* Some of the foregoing extracts are taken from the excellent little work: "Die moderne Weltaanschauung und ihre Consequenzen," by Heinrich Guth.

and envelop a part of the national thought in its dark embrace." \*

The consequences of such a view of life and its surroundings cannot be otherwise than deplorable. It seems to us the German mind is too deep to be satisfied with a superficial or shallow materialism; it will either turn back to a better philosophy and true religion, or it will follow it out to its last consequences and land in pessimism and despair. That such doctrines as those of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann have found such acceptance with a large part of the German people, is, to say the least, a deplorable sign of our times in Germany. We will, therefore, notice another line of facts that are of a more delightful character, but nevertheless as true as the foregoing, and which must also weigh heavy in considering Germany's future.

What is the relation, to-day, of German Protestantism and theology, of German science and philosophy to infidelity, socialism, materialism, and pessimism? While the forces of infidelity are standing in battle array, what are the opposing forces doing? This question has so many sides, embraces so much, is so extensive and far-reaching, that it is impossible for us to give a complete answer without transgressing by far the bounds that we have allotted to this paper. Our answer, therefore, cannot but be incomplete.

As concerns German philosophy and science, it is not all, as some would make us believe, given over to materialism. It is more theistic to-day than several years ago, and with the prospect of becoming still more so; and from time to time heavy blows are struck at materialism, and not only by theologians, but by Germany's best philosophers, men of deep thought and vast learning, and of whom it cannot be said that they are biased by the Church. Materialism is not taught to-day in any of the philosophical chairs of the twenty German universities,† and this is saying a great deal. For universities exert an influence in Germany greater than in any other country. In the universities, more than anywhere else, the best thought of the nation is molded, and "it may also be said that,

\* See "Princeton Review," 1878, March number, p. 494.

† In Germany the name university is given only to such institutions as have at least four faculties: a faculty jurisprudence, medicine, theology, and philosophy. Government officials of all ranks must complete their studies there.



with comparatively few exceptions, almost all the scientific works that are written owe their authorship to professors in these institutions." In general materialism has not so much influence in Germany upon the most highly educated classes as upon those classes of the half or would-be educated, of which class Germany, as every other civilized country, has many thousands. These are generally the persons that talk as if they knew every thing, had solved every riddle, had walked up and down through this wide universe of ours, and have found no God.

Even Darwinism, although not necessarily atheistic, for many theists believe in it, seems to loose its hold more and more on German scientists. It seems to have been the sign of a new departure when Professor Rudolf Virchow promulgated the view in his address, "The Freedom of Science in the State," (*Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im Modernen Staate*,) held before the association of German naturalists and physicians at München, September 22, 1877, that Darwinism should not be taught in the schools, because as yet it is but an unproved hypothesis. The only eminent naturalist of Germany that is an outspoken materialist and Darwinist is Professor Hæckel, of Jena. But it seems he has more influence upon the English scientists than upon the German, wherefore he thinks the English are intellectually a brighter people than the German; but he attributes this not so much to the fact that they have better minds naturally than the Germans, but to the fact that they eat more beefsteaks than the Germans. Whosoever, according to Hæckel, eats great quantities of beefsteaks will become wise, and will then be able to see the truths and beauties of Darwinism. Well, this is no new doctrine, for we have heard long before this, "Was der mensch isst, das ist er," (What a man eats, that he is.)

That Darwinism has lost much of its influence upon German scientists the bearing of the last assembly of the Association of German naturalists and physicians, held at Baden-Baden but a few months ago, has plainly shown. A professor from Leipsic attacked the works of Darwin, and no one arose to defend the English *savant*. And of still more importance is the following incident: "Professor Jäger, dissenting from his materialistic colleagues, who deny the existence of the soul altogether,



claims to have discovered the same to be something material, and not only to have *seen*, but also to have *smelled* it, tried to make his new discovery plausible before the assembled naturalists. But he was not allowed to finish the nonsense that he was displaying. He was just doing his best in trying to identify the different states of mind and the various emotions of the soul with certain evaporations and odors, when energetic calls from all parts of the room compelled him to leave the platform." \* A few years ago these assemblies of German naturalists and physicians were the places where materialism and Darwinism held their feasts; but things have changed somewhat. German science is coming more and more to its senses, and it is high time, too, for it has led the masses of the people too far away from the living God already. The doctrines of materialism, that there is no God and no hereafter, that man has no soul, is not responsible for his acts, and that conscience is a delusion, have helped more than any thing else to undermine the morals of the nation, and we fear that these evils will still work on even when science has seen its mistakes and has turned back. For a people are easier led astray in this respect than back again. The faith and morals of a nation are more readily broken down than built up.

We would add, that of late such men as Professors Wigand, Ebrard, and others,† have given Darwinism such terrible blows, and have proved its untenableness scientifically so clearly, that it can be considered as overcome by German scientific research. We think, therefore, that it is unnecessary that theologians trouble themselves trying to bring the Bible into harmony with it. There is time enough for this work when Darwinism has been proven to be a fact. So far the most sober science has not gone beyond the first chapter of Genesis.

But also in the German Churches new life is making its appearance. She at least begins to open her eyes and sees the danger that is threatening her existence; and this we cannot

\* Dr. Grundemann, in "Deutscher Volksfreund," vol. x, p. 23.

† Wigand: "Der Darwinismus und die Naturforschung Newtens und Cnoiers." "Der Darwinismus ein Zeichen der Zeit." Ebrard: "Die Darwin'sche Deszendenztheorie," in the first volume of his "Apologetik." Pfaff: "Das Alter und der Ursprung des Menschengeschlechts." Hertling: "Der Darwinismus als geistige Epidemie."

but regard as a good sign, for, first the danger must be seen before something can or will be done to avert it. Rationalism, which at the beginning of this century had almost supreme control over the German Churches, is almost overcome in theology. It is driven out of almost every theological chair of the German universities, and in the first General Synod of the Prussian State Church, held Oct., 1879, it had comparatively but a few representatives.

It is true, many of the greatest apologists of the Christian faith, men of deep piety and profound scholarship, have in the last few years stepped off from the platform of life. Among others we will mention only Thomasius, Landerer, v. Hofmann, Tholuck, J. Mueller, and Beck. "So one after the other sink into the grave the German teachers of theology. Will the young generation supply them? Just now, if ever, the German Church needs minds of the first class as teachers of theology." Some of these men, as young professors, dared to stand alone against the heavy assaults of Rationalism and infidelity; but they were well armed. They stood in the contest where it was raging most fiercely; they were faithful unto the end. They are no more, these giants upon the battle-ground of faith; but they have opened for us the hidden treasures of God's word; they have led us into the mysteries of revelation, and they have created an apologetical literature in which every argument against the Christian religion is fully answered. They are no more; their tongues and pens are resting, but their works are still living, and will live for many years to come. When we look upon the graves of these fallen heroes we cannot but ask the question, Who will step into the ranks and fill their places? But we will not be discouraged. "God buries his workmen, but he carries on his work." We cannot quite join in the lamentation that there will soon be a great scarcity of theologians in Germany. Mighty minds are still standing at the head of German theological science. Berlin has its Dorner, Leipsic its Delitzsch and Luthardt, Bonn its Lange and Christlieb, Griefswald its Zöckler, and Erlangen its Ebrard—men that have grown up in the midst of strife and conflict, and that are in every respect well prepared and qualified to meet infidelity upon any field of thought or argument. The last-named of these men, Dr. Ebrard, one of the

greatest of living scholars, is not only a theologian of marked ability, but can also be quoted as an authority in many branches of natural science.

The original minds in theological science may be somewhat rarer now than they were fifty years ago; but, on the other hand, we find that the more retired science of former times has stepped out of its seclusion into the midst of the people; and the theologians of to-day surpass by far the former in practical tact, readiness of word, and in the ability of comprehending the real needs of the Church and the people. It is true, that not so many young men are studying theology in Germany to-day as in former years, and that a scarcity of pastors may be felt in the near future, the sense of which can be found more or less in the present unsettled condition of the relation of the Church to the State. But it is our conviction, that those who are studying theology at present have more of the spirit of Christ within them than the theological students of forty or fifty years ago, and in this respect we prefer the quality to the quantity. Ten truly evangelical pastors will surely do more good than one hundred that are rationalistic.

Dr. Hurst, who visited Germany not long ago, said, in an address which he delivered in New York city, that he was astonished at the thorough change that he noticed everywhere in Germany since his last visit to that country a few years ago. He said that he had visited eight universities, and had found that the negation which finds only fault with the doctrines of the Church, without giving something new or better, has entirely fallen into disfavor. In Heidelberg, the only university in which rationalistic professors are teaching theology, four and a half theological students are counted to one professor, while those universities in which evangelical professors are teaching are crowded. Several publishers told him that they could not sell a rationalistic book. Dr. Hurst thinks when the present theological students will occupy the pulpits it will bring new life into the German churches.

One of the most interesting questions for the German Church is that concerning its relation to the State. The German Church, as is well known, is a State Church. The King or ruler of the land is at the same time head of the Church, so to say, its supreme Bishop. Now for some time the bonds that

bind the Church to the State are beginning to loosen more and more, and it seems to be only a question of time to liberate the Church entirely from the State.

As of great importance for the Prussian State Church, and in fact for the Protestant Church of all Germany, can be regarded the meeting of the first regular General Synod of that Church, which took place October 9, 1879. For a number of years such synods have been held in most of the smaller States of Germany, but in Prussia this movement found considerable opposition. A preparatory General Synod was held at Berlin in 1873, and there the way was prepared for a periodical General Synod, of which the one held October 9, 1879, was the first. "It was composed of one hundred and ninety-four members, of whom one hundred and forty-nine had been elected by the Provincial Synods, thirty had been appointed by the King, nine were superintendents-general, and six representatives of the theological faculties of the universities. . . . In 1873 the majority of the Extraordinary Synod belonged to the so-called *Vermittlungspartei*, or party of mediation, which prevailed at the Prussian universities, and, as its name indicates, tried to find a middle ground between the orthodoxy of the Churches of the sixteenth century and the rationalistic schools of the present age. At present this party is in a minority, and the two parties representing the theology of the sixteenth century are in a decisive majority. These two parties are: 1. That of the *Konfessionellen*, or the strict Lutherans; 2. That of the 'Friends of the Positive Union.'\*" When we remember that the Prussian State Church numbers over twelve millions of Church members, being the second largest Protestant State Church in the world, we can see the importance that is attached to the holding of this first General Synod. And although this synod has not the power to make laws, still it is a great step forward in the organization and consolidation of the Church, and in its liberation from the State. Some of the measures that were taken there are very important, especially those concerning Church discipline. They will tend to cleanse the Church from infidel elements, and to strengthen it in its warfare against infidelity.

The cause of the sanctity of the Sabbath—which was also

\* Compare this "Quarterly," January number, 1880, p. 175

deliberated upon in the General Synod—is also attracting the attention of the leading men in the German Churches more and more. Organizations to help on this cause are formed, and it seems to have met with considerable success so far. Dr. Cremer made the remark, at the assembly of the Evangelical Alliance: “Delightful is the fact that the Sabbath is being regained.” So is also the cause of temperance attracting the attention of the government, (and of the Churches,) and in the way of restrictive laws steps are being taken to arrest the fearful spread of drunkenness. These are encouraging signs, and, together with other movements, as the cause of home missions—which is in a prosperous condition in many places—plainly prove that the Protestant Churches of Germany are not altogether given over into rationalism and infidelity, as some seem to think, but that there is still considerable life and power manifested, with many signs of improvement as concerns the Church.

Whereunto point the “signs of the times” as concerns Germany’s future? This question is hard to be answered. One thing is certain, rest and peace, concerning the social and religious questions that are agitating the German people, are not to be expected in the near future, for the oppositions are too marked and bitter to allow any prospect of a near adjustment of these questions. Not peace and rest, therefore, but war and work, is written over the portals of Germany’s future. Dr. Cremer, whom we have already quoted, made the remark: “It is no bright and peaceful future that is awaiting us; we can expect nothing but still more conflict, and, it may be, persecution and suffering.” Will German Christianity be faithful in the conflict and trial? May God help her!

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF  
THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

*American Reviews.*

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1880. (Philadelphia.)—1. Free Thought in England; by Arthur F. Marshall. 2. Our Great Goddess and her Coming Idol; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 3. How to Find the Truth; by Dr. Daniel Gans. 4. Notes on Spain; by St. Geo. Mivart, F.R.S., etc. 5. American Influence on the Democratic Movement in Europe; by John McCarty. 6. Catholicity in Kentucky—The Elder Family; by Benedict J. Webb. 7. Bishop Stevens on Auricular Confession and Private Absolution; by Very Rev. J. A. Corcoran, D.D. 8. English Fiction; by John Gray. 9. Influence of the Sun on Terrestrial Magnetism; by Rev. J. M. Degni, S.J. 10. Beza as a Translator and Perverter of God's Word; by J. A. C. 11. Dante.

BAPTIST REVIEW, October, November, December, 1880. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Religious "Light of Asia." "Sangha;" or, The Buddhist Priesthood; by Rev. F. H. Eveleth. 2. Destruction of American Forests and the Consequences; by David D. Thomson. 3. Exegesis of 1 John iii, 9; by Rev. H. M. Hopkinson. 4. The Rational Grounds of Theism; by Rev. George B. Stevens. 5. The Will in Theology; by Augustus H. Strong, D.D. 6. The Denominational Work of President Manning; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 7. The Dispensation of the Fullness of Times. Exegesis of Ephesians i, 9, 10; by Rev. G. W. Folwell. 8. Shall we have a Sabbath, and How? by G. W. Gardner, D.D. 9. The Kenosis, or Humiliation of Christ; by Henry C. Vedder.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1880. (Andover.)—1. History and the Concept of God; by Rev. George T. Ladd. 2. The New Testament Vocabulary: Native Words not Found in Classical Authors; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin. 3. The Sabbath: The Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; Testimony of the Fathers; by Rev. William De Loos Love, D.D. 4. Christian Doctrine of God; by President E. V. Gerhart. 5. History of Research Concerning the Structure of the Old Testament Historical Books; by Prof. Archibald Duff, M.A. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. McCurdy, Ph.D.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. Anastasis; by Rev. W. H. Black. 2. Causes of Atheism; by Rev. Erskine Brantley. 3. The American Lawyer; by Hon. R. C. Ewing. 4. Sanctification vs. Soul Purity; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D. 5. Language and Evolution; by Prof. W. D. McLoughlin. 6. The First Sabbath; by Rev. J. L. Goodknight.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1880. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Martin Luther's Table Talk; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 2. God's Sovereignty; by Rev. L. A. Fox, A.M. 3. Catechisation; by Rev. Prof. E. F. Bartholomew, A.M. 4. The Lutheran Jubilee; by Rev. J. D. Severinghaus, A.M. 5. Life With a Purpose; by M. Valentine, D.D. 6. Bittle Memorial Address; by Prof. S. C. Wells, Ph.D. 7. Credibility of the Scriptures.

NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. The Light of Asia; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Andersonville; by Prof. Rufus B. Richardson, Ph.D. 3. Western Colleges; Their Claims and Necessities; by Rev. M. M. G. Dana. 4. The Last Representation of the Ober-Ammergau Play—in the Summer of 1880; by a Lady. 5. Horace Bushnell; by Rev. H. M. Goodwin.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, October, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Gen. Henry Knox; by Francis S. Drake, Esq. 2. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury; by William B. Trask, Esq. 3. Memoir of Col. Seth Warner; by Hon. Walter Harriman. 4. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 5. Capt. Cogan's Expedition to Pig-wacket; by Horace Mann, Esq. 6. Letters of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.;



by N. J. Herrick, Esq. 7. Fisher's Account of the First Settlers of Bluehill, Me.; by Hon. Joseph Williamson. 8. The Bell Family Record; by J. Gardner White, A.M. 9. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 10. Number of Births in Newbury, Mass., 1639 to 1715. 11. The Slocum Genealogy; by Charles E. Slocum, M.D., Ph.D. 12. Dedham and Stoughton; by Jeremiah Colburn, A.M. 13. Diaries of Samuel Thompson, Esq., of Woburn, Mass.; by William R. Cutter, Esq. 14. The Youngman Family; by David Youngman, M.D. 15. Census of Bristol, 1689; by George T. Paine, Esq. 16. Records of Dartmouth, Mass; by the late James B. Congdon.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1880. (Boston.) 1. Universalist Conventions and Creeds; by Rev. Richard Eddy. 2. Evolution and Materialism; by Rev. O. A. Rounds. 3. Historic Theism; by Rev. T. S. Lathrop. 4. Forgiveness of Sin: its Philosophy, Incidents, and Application; by Rev. R. O. Williams. 5. Universalism and the Heart; by Rev. A. J. Patterson, D.D. 6. The Relation of Myths to Science and Religion; by Prof. B. F. Tweed. 7. New Problems in our Church Work; by Rev. J. Coleman Adams. 8. "On the True Site of Nineveh;" by Rev. O. D. Miller. 9. The Commandments of God; by Rev. B. F. Bowles.

We are indebted to the "Universalist Quarterly" for the following summary of recently-developed facts in regard to the genuineness of the Book of Daniel:

The first attack upon the authorship and historical integrity of Daniel was made in the beginning of the fourth century by the celebrated Porphyry, a pagan philosopher, who wrote fifteen books against the Christians, the twelfth of which he devoted entirely to the Book of Daniel. He maintained that the author was a Jew of Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; that it was originally written in Greek, and that the object was to give the form of previous prophecy to the events of his own time. Several replies by different writers were sent out, among others one by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

The arguments of Porphyry have been repeated in modern times by Spinoza and the English Deists, the foremost of whom, perhaps, was Collins, and by some of the German schools of criticism. Of late these attacks have been renewed, and, beginning with the rejection of the first six chapters as the work of Daniel, they have ended with pronouncing the entire book the work of an impostor who must have written in the time of Antiochus. Hitzig and Lücke fix the date in the period between B. C. 170-164, which opinion is generally indorsed by German critics. Hengstenberg, Havernack, Delitzsch, Keil, Stuart, and others maintain the authenticity of the book. And this position is growing into strength, and finding acceptance among those who have hesitated, but who, having no prejudices nor theories to maintain, have fairly weighed the new evidence brought in by recent discoveries among the tablets and monuments from the sites of Babylon and Nineveh.

It would not be an easy thing for a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to write history involving Babylonian customs, traditions, dates, punishments, and superstitions in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or Darius, without falling into errors which would betray his ignorance. But in Daniel allusions to these

matters, which skeptical critics have called in question, have been proved to be in accord with time and facts as revealed by monumental inscriptions recently brought to light. Take, for example, the punishments inflicted on Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego by casting them alive into a fiery furnace, and Daniel and his accusers into a den of lions. George Smith's recovery of the cylinders of Assurbanipal, the grandson of Sennacherib, has let in a clear light upon these horrible practices of the Assyrian kings, so that we have now contemporary evidence in proof of the accuracy of Daniel's record, showing that both these punishments were in use at Babylon a few years before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, was made by his relative king of Babylon, where he reigned prosperously for several years. Afterward, for some unknown reason, he ungratefully rebelled against his eldest brother, but after a severe contest was defeated and taken prisoner. The Assyrian monarchs appear to have been always animated with an implacable spirit of revenge. Hence we are not surprised at finding among the inscriptions containing the annals of Assurbanipal the following: "Saulmugina, my rebellious brother, who made war with me, in the fierce, burning fire they (that is, his generals, by his command) threw him, and destroyed his life. And the people who to Saulmugina, my rebellious brother, he had caused to join, and these evil things did, who death deserved. . . . One sinner did not escape from my hands, my hand held them. . . . Their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished. The rest of the people alive among the stone (?) lions and bulls, which Sennacherib my grandfather in the midst had thrown; again I into that pit those men into the midst I threw."\*

This passage illustrates the correctness of Daniel's mention of customs and punishments in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and shows the strong probability of its dating in his reign, (B.C. 604-560,) which began but a short time after that of Assurbanipal ended. We may add in passing that the reign of this Assurbanipal has received a new and interesting illustration from the recent discoveries in Cyprus by Cesnola, whose rich collections of antiquities adorn the New York Art Museum: "An inscription on the gold armlets found at Kurion, in Cyprus, reveals the name of Ithyander, king of the island, who rendered homage to Assurbanipal B.C. 620, during his march against Egypt, and only a few years before the termination of the war in which the pious Josiah, king of Judah, lost his life, as the Book of Kings relates it: 'In his days Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates, and King Josiah went against him, and he slew him at Megiddo when he had seen him.' We have also some Babylonian cylinders inscribed with cuneiform characters in the Accadian tongue, though the proper names are all Semitic; some of these are supposed to be of the time of

\* "Assyrian Discoveries," by George Smith, pp. 342, 343.

Esarhaddon's reign, the eighth century B.C., while others belong to the reign of Naram Sin, king of Babylon, son and successor of Sargon I., who flourished before the sixteenth century B.C.\*

But we must return more directly to the Book of Daniel, and the confirmation it derives from some of these discoveries, and the closer study it has received in connection with Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities. It is found after all that Belshazzar is a historical personage and not a myth, or the creation of an apocryphal writer. Nabonidus is called by Berosus the *last* king of Babylon, in whose reign Cyrus captured the city, thus leaving no place for Belshazzar, say the skeptical critics. But the cylinders which Rawlinson dug out of the ruins of Um-Queer (the Chaldean Ur) show that the eldest son of Nabonidus bore the name of Bel-shaz-azar, and was associated with his father as co-regent in the government; much as the heirs or designated successors of the Roman emperors were sometimes taken by them into the administration of the political and military affairs of the empire. Belshazzar, it seems, had been appointed royal governor of Babylon by Nabonidus, who, while marching to the assistance of his son, was attacked and defeated by Cyrus, and shut up in Borsippus, until after the capture of the city. Thus what, until lately, seemed to tell strongly against the historical accuracy of Daniel, turns out to be a remarkable proof of his exactness of statement—only it has happened that this proof has been buried out of reach for some 2,500 years.

If the author of the Book of Daniel had not been contemporary with the events he could not have described them so accurately. If the book had been written in the Maccabean age by a forger, he would not have mentioned Belshazzar, for the inscriptions proving his existence had then been hidden in the ruins for ages, and have continued hidden there down to our own times.

Other coincidences of time and customs indicate the early date and historical integrity of the book. Daniel makes no mention, for example, of prostration before the king when entering his presence, or speaking to him. According to Arrian, Cyrus, the Persian conqueror, was the first king honored in this way. Now in the Maccabean age this custom of prostration before kings was an established custom. Is it likely that a writer of that age would have had such an exact knowledge of the matter, and made no allusion to what was so common in his own day! There is another very remarkable omission, if the book was written in the time of the Maccabees, which Dr. Harman points out in his "Introduction to the Scriptures," namely, "its freedom from

\* The "London Record," from which we quote the above, says of one of these inscriptions: "It is interesting to remember that 1,000 years before this was enforced, when we are brought back to the time of Moses, the inhabitants of the Isle of Cyprus are represented on the famous historical tomb at Thebes as paying homage and tribute to Thothmes III., the builder of our recent arrival on the Thames embankment, which, two centuries ago, was known at Alexandria as 'Pharaoh's Obelisk,' but which latterly has borne the misleading title of 'Cleopatra's Needle.'"

prayers in the midst of narratives:" "Tobit, 1 Maccabees, Judith, and indeed all the apocryphal books, abound with prayers and ejaculations. The Book of Esther contains no prayers in the Hebrew, but there is no want of them in the Greek version, (265-135, the latter portion being in the time of the Maccabees.) In Daniel not a word of prayer is mentioned as having been uttered by the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace. In the Greek version, however, prayers are put into their mouths. No prayers are ascribed to Daniel in the lion's den.\* Had Daniel been written in the age of the apocryphal writers, it would in all probability have abounded in prayers and pious ejaculations. It is difficult to explain how the book could have arisen in the age of such writers, at the time the Greek version was made, and yet be wanting in the very additions characteristic of the times. In several places, in chapter ix, Daniel uses the name *Jehovah*; but there can be no doubt that already, before the age of the Maccabees, the Jews had ceased to use that name, through a superstitious reverence."†

Within a few years past the attention of European scholars has been specially attracted to the Book of Daniel by the recent Assyrian and Chaldean discoveries, and the consequent more careful study of the customs, superstitions, and general history of these peoples. The result is that there has been a slowly-growing change of opinion among radical biblical critics regarding the date and authorship of the work. In some cases the change has been very marked. The "Independent" stated some time ago that "One of the most erudite and competent French students of those inscriptions has lately published his own conclusions on the subject. He does not discuss Daniel's visions included in the last part of the book, which he believes can be equally justified, but, after examining with the greatest care the first six chapters, which are full of local allusions, he declares that they could have been written only while the memory of the time with which they have to do was yet very fresh. He says that for a long time the views of these literary critics seemed to him unrefuted. He accepted them, and published them; but has lately been compelled, for reasons simply and exclusively scientific, to revise his opinion, and recur to the old Talmudic view, which referred the composition of Daniel to the time of Ezra and the Great Synagogue. Comparing Daniel with the Book of Judith, which is of the date which critics have tried to assign to Daniel, the contrast is remarkable. Every historical or social allusion in Daniel is borne out by the facts discovered. In Judith, however, we have a king of Assyria who never existed defeated on the territory of an unknown king of the Elamites when Elam had ceased to exist as a nation, in a plain which is at the

\* The prayer in chapter ix is an exception to this statement.

† Harman's Introduction, "Daniel," p. 388. The entire chapter on this book is worth a careful reading.

same time near the Euphrates and the Indian Hydaspes. The Median king then sends on an expedition his general, Holophernes, with a Persian name, who crosses and conquers Syria, in a journey of fantastic geography, and comes to Palestine, which is under a king whose name is not given, whom he besieges in the mythical city of Bethulia. What a difference between this accumulation of impossibilities and the absolutely true picturing of Babylon given in Daniel.† Of course, archæology cannot be asked to confirm the supernatural of miracles or prophecies. All we ask of it is whether the books which contain the supernatural could have been written at the time they claim to have been written. The monuments buried for thousands of years in the soil of Egypt and Mesopotamia answer Yes, to the confusion of the critics who said No. The monuments cannot affirm every thing. They cannot fairly be asked for every detail of personal life. They cannot record the revelations of God to his prophets. They do not tell us how accurately the Sacred Books have been brought down to us, nor when or how they have been re-written or revised by Ezra or a later Synagogue. But they do tell us that the accordance, not of Genesis and Exodus and Daniel alone, but of the Kings, and Chronicles, and the prophets, and Ezra, and Esther, with the data given by the monuments, is such that it is impossible that they should not have been written at or near the time which has been claimed for them from the beginning."

Since the preceding was written, an article from the pen of Rev. Dr. Sayce, of Queen's College, Oxford, Eng., has appeared in "The Oriental Journal," which, if it correctly interprets the cuneiform text, puts a new face on the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and compels a re-writing of this chapter of ancient history. It seems that two important discoveries have recently been made in Babylonia, one a clay cylinder which contains a proclamation of Cyrus describing his conquest of Babylonia, and the other a large clay tablet giving year by year the history of the reign of Nabonidus, father of Belshazzar, of the conquest of the Medes and Babylonians by Cyrus, and of the first year of his rule over Babylon. We give as much of the article as our limits will permit. According to the annals of the historical tablets, "The Persians first appear upon the scene in the sixth year of Nabonidus, when we find Cyrus engaged in fighting against Istungu, the classical Astyages, king of Ekbatana, whose army revolted against him, and sent him in chains to Cyrus, B.C. 549. Meanwhile Nabonidus, instead of coming to the help of the Medians, remained inactive in the town of Tera, which was probably a suburb of Babylon, contenting himself with stationing his army,

† So in the first book of Maccabees there are similar gross historical errors. In chap. i a false statement is made respecting the death of Alexander the Great, and the division of his kingdom. In chap. viii the author says that the Romans captured Antiochus alive; but the fact is they never captured him at all. Again, in this same chapter, he says that the Romans deprived him of India, which he never possessed.



under the command of his eldest son, in Accad, or Northern Babylonia, so as to check the advance of Cyrus in that direction. Three years after Cyrus completed his conquest of the Medes by crossing the Tigris near Arbela, in order to proceed against the last cities in that part of the former empire of Media which still held out against him. He then attempted to enter Babylonia from the north, but the Babylonian army was apparently too strong for him, and it was not till the seventeenth year of Nabonidus (B.C. 538) that the conquest of Babylonia was effected. Cyrus had first tampered with the subjects of the Chaldean king, and when every thing was ready marched against Nabonidus from the south-east, where the Babylonians who lived on the coasts of the Persian Gulf had already revolted in favor of the invader.

"Nabonidus now endeavored to propitiate the neglected gods, but to no purpose. A battle was fought in the month Tammuz, or June, at Rubum, in the south of Babylonia, resulting in the defeat of Nabonidus, and the revolt of the people of Accad from him. Sippara was taken by the Persians, without fighting, on the 14th of Tammuz. Nabonidus fled, but was captured by the Persian general, Gobryas, on the 16th of Tammuz, *and Babylon was entered without any resistance and without a siege*, by Gobryas, almost immediately afterward. The only resistance experienced was at the end of the month, when some 'rebels of the land of Gutnim,' or Kurdiston, shut themselves up in the Temple of Belus, at Babylon; but as they had no weapons they could do nothing. It was not until the 3d of Marchesvan, or October, that Cyrus entered Babylon, apparently during the night, 'the roads being dark before him,' and appointed Gobryas and other officers to govern the city. On the 11th of the same month Nabonidus died, which disposes of the story of his appointment to the government of Caramania.

"Cyrus now commenced his policy of conciliation. The Babylonian gods were restored to their shrines with every mark of reverence, and on the 4th of Nisan, the first month of the new year, (B.C. 537,) Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, took part in the religious ceremonies performed in honor of the various deities. As this is the last event recorded, the tablet must have been drawn up soon afterward, and deposited in the public library, where it could be read by all.

"It is not necessary to refer to the important bearing these two documents have upon biblical and profane history, and more especially upon the Book of Daniel. One more argument has been added to the case against Xenophon's 'Cyropædia,' which competent judges have long pronounced to be a romance; and the siege of Babylon, described by Herodotus, turns out never to have taken place. It is possible, however, that Herodotus has confounded Babylon with Sippara, where the relics of the army of Nabonidus took refuge."—Pp. 498-504.



The following candid notice of Dr. De Hass' Bible Lands, and rebuke of the slashing notice of the "Independent," does credit to the "Universalist Quarterly:"—

This ample title-page sufficiently notifies the reader of the aim and character of this beautiful volume; and the Preface states that the author has compiled the facts brought out by recent explorations in this concise form for the benefit of the general reader, to whom they would not otherwise be accessible. He states that he does not claim to have made these discoveries, but that, having visited and carefully examined the excavations made by Mariette Bey, in Egypt, Dr. Schliemann, at Troy, Dr. Wood, in Asia Minor, and General Cesnola, in Cyprus, and having been with Warren, Wilson, Drake, Ganneau, Conder, and others, in and around Jerusalem—also having traveled with Dr. Strong's party through Moab, and followed Dr. Porter through the Hauran—he writes from observations personally made, though relying in some instances for the correctness of his statements on the surveys and investigations of the eminent archaeologists named.

After such a frank acknowledgment of his indebtedness, and of the probable source of some of the errors and over-statements of the book, we think the criticisms of the "Independent" unnecessarily severe and personal. The author does not profess to be fresh or original—his work is a "compilation;" and he makes no pretense of having verified all the statements which he copies, or of having seen even all the places which he describes. He has certainly overlooked some of the most recent results in Egyptian and Assyrian discoveries, and the consequent corrections of former interpretations and too hasty conclusions; and he may have too much confidence in the superlatives and hyperboles of some of his authorities, whose errors have been long ago exposed; and this is confessedly a drawback on a book just from the press. But after all the work is a valuable one, replete with useful and exceedingly interesting information concerning Bible Lands, and one every way calculated to illustrate the language of the sacred records, and strengthen faith in their authenticity and accuracy. It ought to find a place in our family and Sunday-school libraries. There are over one hundred and fifty illustrations, all helping to interpret the text.—P. 510.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.) 1. A Few Weeks upon the Continent; by the Duke of Argyll. 2. The Indian Dilemma; by Major H. Grey, C. S. I. 3. On the Sources of German Discontent; by Dr. Karl Hillebrand. 4. The Postulates of English Political Economy; by Walter Bagehot. 5. The Public Letters of John Ruskin, D.C.L.; by An Oxford Pupil. 6. How the Income Tax can be Abolished; by Lonsdale Bradley. 7. The Eleusinian Mysteries; by François Lenormant. 8. Postal Notes, Money Orders, and Bank Checks; by Prof. W. Stanley Jevons. 9. From Faust to Mr. Pickwick; by Matthew Browne.

The July number of the "Contemporary Review" contains an article by the Duke of Argyll, entitled: "A Few Weeks upon

the Continent." It narrates a tour into the South of Europe, made with a view, not to science or art, but to nature. The entire article suggests sad thoughts of the narrowness of our American "statesmen" in comparison with the broadly cultured Argyll and Gladstone.

At Verona, Italy, Argyll discerns that the pavement stones are made up of the ancient Ammonite, represented by the modern Nautilus. The ancient forms were splendid and massive, and were fossilized in the Oolite and Lias. This suggests a refutation of the Darwinian claim that geology would show a complete series of evolutionary forms, were not the succession immensely broken and shattered. But we have here an instance where

#### THE GEOLOGICAL RECORD IS UNBROKEN.

A complete and perfect series of certain of these forms may very easily be preserved in the deposits of any given age. The imperishable nature of shells generally, and especially of shells so solid as the Ammonites, together with the fact that all that lived in any given area of sea must have been preserved in its deposits, as we actually find them to have been—are circumstances which give us every reason to believe that we have a very complete record of the succession of these forms, and this, too, for periods of time so long that during them many new species did actually appear. In the deposits of the Lias, for example, we have in the South of England, and elsewhere, an immense series of deposits which appear to have been continuous and undisturbed during the time of their deposition, and are continuous and undisturbed still. They are crowded with millions of Ammonites of all forms and patterns, of all ages and sizes, and yet the method or the process by which new species have been introduced is as mysterious in respect to them as in respect to other forms of life in which no such perfect series anywhere exists. No less than two hundred species are known in this one geological formation, of which one hundred and six are confined to a particular division of it. All these appeared quite suddenly, and in the next division of the same deposit their places were taken by forms which are wholly new. Whence did these come, and how did they arise? No man can tell. The facts do not suggest gradual passages and insensible gradations. One particular species, for example, appears suddenly in one particular bed or stratum only a few inches thick—appears in this bed alone, and is absolutely wanting in every other, whether above or below it. True it is that the differences of pattern which distinguish these species from each other are often small. But whether they be large or small they are always constant. They appear suddenly, and as suddenly their place is supplied by some new variety which during another period remains as fixed

and constant as all the rest. It seems to me to be quite certain, from this history of the Genesis of Ammonites, that the origin of their specific distinctions has not been an origin due to minute and accidental variations, but an origin due to sudden changes effected under a law of birth or of evolution of which we know nothing, and to which nothing analogous has been ever seen since Man appeared, or at least since Man observed. The doctrine that Nature does nothing "*per saltum*" is a doctrine which, in so far as it is true at all, has been wonderfully misunderstood. The continuity of Nature is a continuity of causation, not a mere continuity of effects. New things may appear very suddenly in perfect consistency with being the result of long and gradual preparation. Leaps the most tremendous—transitions the most violent—may be the outcome of a perfect continuity. If all creatures have been born from pre-existing forms, the geological evidence is that they have been born suddenly—with deviations from the parent stock, which have been reached at once—and which have remained fixed and definite until a new variation has arisen.—Page 4.

Evolutionists have made great use of the fact of the preservation of species by natural concealment. The following passage describes a remarkable case of

#### SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR SAFETY BY CONCEALMENT.

As regards the *Lophius*, or fishing-frog, although in one aspect it is among the most hideous and horrible objects in Nature, in another aspect it is one of the most "beautiful;" for nowhere is there a more conspicuous example of that kind of beauty which consists in a wonderful combination of curious and various adaptations. When seen cast up upon the shore, as it often is, its appearance is simply that of a great flattened bag, with a mouth stretching from one side to the other, and with those wide jaws armed with double rows of hideously sharp-pointed teeth. But when freshly taken from the water, and carefully examined, it is one of the marvels of creation. It is adapted for concealment at the bottom of the sea—for lying perfectly flat on the sand or among the weeds—with its cavernous jaws ready for a snap. For more perfect concealment, every bit of the creature is imitative both in form and coloring. The whole upper surface is mottled and tinted in such close resemblance to stones and gravels and seaweeds, that it becomes quite undistinguishable among them. In order to complete the method of concealment, the whole margins of the fish, and the very edges of the lips and jaws, have loose tags and fringes which wave and sway about amid the currents of water so as to look exactly like the smaller algae which move around them and along with them. Even the very ventral fins of this Devouring Deception, which are thick, strong, and fleshy, almost like hands, and which evidently help in a sudden leap, are made like great clam shells, while the iris of the eyes is so colored in lines radiating from the pupil, as to look precisely like some

species of *Patella* or Limpet. But this is not all; not only is concealment perfectly in order to enable the *Lophius* to catch the unwary, but there is a bait provided to attract the hungry and the inexperienced. From the top of the head proceeds a pair, or two pair, of slender elastic rods, like the slender tops of a fishing-rod, ending in a little membrane or web, which glistens in the water and is attractive to other fish. When they come to bite, or even to look, they are suddenly engulfed, for portals open with a rush and close again—portals over which the inscription may well be written: "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate."

It is impossible to look at a machinery so special, so elaborate, and so ingenious as this, and to be satisfied with the stereotyped mechanical explanation of the Evolutionists. I do not mean to doubt that such creatures have been "developed," any more than to deny that they have been generated and have been born; all I mean is that the development, whatever may have been the stages through which it may have passed, has been guided by a "Law" which is cognizable and intelligible only as a Law of Mind. The end has been seen from the beginning, and organs have been shaped toward that end long before they could be of actual use in gaining it. Not by the mere killing off of accidental variations, but by the shaping of them to a foreseen conclusion, can particular variations such as these have been attained. Just as there are unmistakable marks which separate the conceptions of the imagination from narratives of fact, so are there marks, equally unmistakable, which separate the work of Mind from any of the results of blind physical causation: and although all nature is full of this distinction, there are occasional examples of it which, from their novelty, their complication, and their conspicuousness, bring it home to our recognition more vividly than others. Such an example is the *Lophius*.—Page 8.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Unity of Nature; by the Duke of Argyll. 2. How to Nationalize the Land; by Alfred R. Wallace. 3. The Relation of Christian Belief to National Life; by Rev. J. Baldwin Brown. 4. Party Politics in the United States; by an American Statesman. 5. The Procedure of Deliberative Bodies; by Alexander Bain, LL.D. 6. Home Rule in Ireland; by Alfred Frisby. 7. The Prospects of Land-Owners; by Prof. W. Steadman Aldis. 8. The Future of the Canadian Dominion; by William Clarke. 9. Old and New Japan; by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.

The November Contemporary Review has an article by J. Baldwin Brown, on "The Relation of Christian Belief to National Life." We give the following extract on the professedly pious

#### ATHEISM OF THE DAY.

There is an Atheism abroad which has in it a tincture of almost pious devotion to the ideas and aims which Christianity has taught us as a nation to cherish and pursue. We need not trouble ourselves much to confute it; it will confute itself, and

soon. It is the fancy for the time of our over-cultured men and women—that is, men and women who are mastered by their culture instead of mastering it—that the world can be very blessedly Christian without Christianity. We may leave them calmly to spread their plaster over the sacred name which hallows every stone of the temple of Christian society, and to inscribe on the bare surface any name they please, or none. The plaster will soon be dropping from their Pharos, and the name of the founder will shine out fresher and brighter than at first. But we do not affect to underrate the gravity of the danger which threatens us. We cannot hope to emerge, except through long strain and bitter sorrow, from the unbelief and indifference which have been largely bequeathed to us by a too selfish, self-satisfied, self-inked, and dogmatic Church.

Sometimes one has a vision of what might befall if the creed or the no-creed of the Atheist were triumphant, and were accepted as the truth in all cultivated society. Were it established as the orthodox creed of the intellectual rulers; were men trained from childhood to limit their interests, activities, and hopes to the bare and narrow world which alone it regards as real; were all the light which plays over life from the spiritual sphere extinguished, and all the comfort which men gather from the thought of the infinite wisdom and tenderness dead; were they doomed to toil and suffer through their weary days with no inspiration from perennial fountains, and with no hope beyond the darkling tomb; did they believe that the death which each moment dogs their steps would be utterly an end of them, and that the experience of their own sad lives was the only legacy which they would leave to their heirs, then how fiercely men would learn to hate this Atheism: with what bitter ridicule would they unmask its pretensions; with what scathing scorn would they dissect its arguments; and with what prophetic fury would they denounce the ruin which it must work in the nature, the endowment, and the destiny of our race. It would be worth enduring some deep sadness and darkness for a season to see humanity, in spiritual might, rise on a rampant Atheism, tear its flimsy sophisms to tatters, and banish it as a hideous nightmare from the earth.

Some such experience may be awaiting our Atheistic schools. Intellect has grown wanton of late. A dread discipline of anguish may be appointed to it, in that bare desert of Atheistic negations into which it has led itself forth, and is seeking to lead forth the world. We seem to see, with eyes blinded with tears, the dark night of lonely despair in which our proud and contemptuous culture may be ordained to wander; until it hungers again for the Bread which cometh down from heaven, and seeks joyfully the light which, to a spirit's eye, floods over the celestial sphere. But what shall this poor man do, whose only comfort it has embittered, whose only hope it has blighted, and whose living fountain it has poisoned in the spring? The poor



have the Gospel preached unto them still, and many a cup of pure, bright pleasure does it lift to their lips. There was a service at a little conventicle on the Surrey hills, a few Sundays ago, a sample of thousands of peasants' services which are held each Sunday in our land. Poor laborers and humble tradesmen filled the place. Very hard were the lives of many of them; very long and weary their toil; very dull and sad their lot. But there they were for a time in another world. An evangelist preached to them sound, stirring, vital doctrine about righteousness; and they were made to feel that diligence, honesty, thrift, cheerfulness and charity were all within its pale. A peasant prayed with a dignity and a power of thought and expression which would have touched our prophets of culture, and which nothing but the Bible could have taught him, and he prayed for blessings which even an agnostic would recognize as good both for souls and States. They sang hymns which seemed for the time to uplift them, and they saw above their narrow and squalid lot a world in whose joys and glories they, too, had part. And then they went home to their poor hovels, their cabbage, their crust, and their dull monotonous tasks, feeling that life was not all a bare, dry desert; that toil and pain and sickness are not its only experiences; that it has passages of joy that might gladden an angel, and hopes which lift themselves to God and heaven. There are ten thousand of such churches, let us thank God, scattered about England. None but God knows the precious contribution which they offer to the stability and the fruitfulness of our industrial, social, and political life. I confess I am somewhat sceptical as to the extent of the so-called alienation of the "masses" from the Gospel. Their alienation from the Churches is all too manifest, but I think we quite underrate the hold which the truth and comfort of the Gospel have upon their hearts. It is wonderful how in times of great calamity, in colliery accidents and the like, abundant signs, not of a religion put on for the moment, but of a very noble Christian faith and patience, appear.

Let highly cultured men and women strip life, if they will, of all that makes it worth the living, and of the higher fellowships which lend to it dignity and grace; let them condemn, if they will, the hopes and the experiences which are the springs of its purest and most lasting joys; let them destroy for themselves, with the cruel weapons of their sophistry, the beliefs and the aspirations which in all ages have seemed to man to differentiate his life from the brutes; be it ours to guard for ourselves and these poor ones that vision of God, and that faith in the revelations and promises of his word, which has led the progress of Christendom hitherto, which is the stimulus and the strength of the noblest activity in men and in communities, and which, under the cares, burdens, and toils of our present experience, gladdens the heart unspeakably, fills the imagination, and beautifies and exalts the life.—P. 21.



NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Future of the Republican Party; by George S. Boutwell. 2. Discoveries at Olympia; by Prof. Ernst Curtius. 3. Rational Sunday Observance; by Rev. Dr. James Freeman Clarke. 4. Southern Statesmen and their Policy; by John Jay. 5. The Ruins of Central America—Part IV; by Désiré Charnay. 6. The Distribution of Time; by Dr. Leonard Waldo. 7. The Public-School Failure; by Richard Grant White. The Validity of the Emancipation Edict; by Aaron A. Ferris.

Ex-Secretary Boutwell, in the first article, proposes what he considers an effective correction of the violation of the rights of "a free ballot and a fair count" in the Southern States. We give his method in the following paragraphs :

By section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution, it is provided that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them from invasion."

This guarantee to the States of a republican form of government is coupled with the highest pledge that can be made by one body-politic to another—protection against invasion. The two pledges considered together are a guarantee of the existence of the State and of its existence as a republic.

The Supreme Court has given an opinion that the guarantee is to the inhabitants of the respective States, and not to the governments of the States. In considering the varying meanings of the word "State" in our Constitution, the Court says: "There are instances in which the principal sense of the word seems to be that primary one to which we have adverted, of a people or political community, as distinguished from a government. In this latter sense the word seems to be used in the clause which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion. In this clause a plain distinction is made between a State and the government of a State." (*Texas vs. White*, 7 Wallace, 721.)

When we consider the nature of this obligation, its place in the Constitution, and its necessity as a means of protecting the Union itself from undermining and destroying processes, we can entertain only contempt for the doctrine that when the system in a State is republican there can be no further inquiry by the United States, and that the National Government must ever remain a silent spectator of the total subversion of that system in practice. If this be so, it is then only necessary for a body of usurpers in a State to retain a republican form of government, and then proceed to rob the people of every right appertaining to a republican system. And further, if this be so, then the guarantee is to the authorities of the State, and not to the people. The guarantee of a republican form or system of government is nothing to the people living under the system unless the administration of it is republican also. Indeed, the guarantee of a republican form of government, when that government has been

seized by usurpers, and the people are deprived alike of the rights and of the protection which a republican government is designed to secure, makes the guarantee itself the shield of the oppressor and the menace of the down-trodden.

The guarantee is, then, not of the *form* only, but of the *substance*, the *thing* itself, as well. The republican government guaranteed is a government existing and operating in harmony with the American idea as set forth in our Constitutions, both State and national, or accepted universally and by many successive generations.

Some of the essential features of a republican form of government are these: 1. All just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. 2. The exercise of those powers is by representative men selected by the people, either directly by election or indirectly by appointment. 3. The recognition in the Constitution of the existence of a body of men entitled to the elective franchise. 4. Efficient means for the general and equal enjoyment of the right by all of the class so recognized. 5. Obedience to the will of the majority when, agreeably to the Constitution, that will has been ascertained.

The Congress, including the President, is the United States, for the purpose of making good the guarantee contained in the Constitution; and when in any State the essential qualities of a republican government are wanting, or the people are, generally and systematically, deprived of those rights and privileges which are elemental in our republican system, and when all milder means have failed to remedy the evils, it then becomes a duty to assert the power of the United States under the clause of the Constitution quoted, and, by such means as may be adequate, secure to the people a republican government as a practical, existing fact.

Although many years have passed since the outrages in the South assumed national importance, there is still ground for hope that order may be re-established, and the equal rights of citizens every-where recognized; but it is well in this exigency to assert the existence and unfold the nature of a power adequate to the evil we now confront.

The Republican party bears no hostility to the South as a section. If we are a sectional party—and in one sense we are a sectional party—the circumstance is due to the fact that, in the South, the Republican forces are in a state of duress, and their voice is nowhere heard, nor is their power anywhere felt.

When, however, there shall be freedom of speech, of the press, and of the ballot, the Republican party will exert every constitutional power for the renovation of the waste places in the South. Whatever can be done, under the Constitution, for the improvement of its rivers and its harbors, for the rebuilding of its levees, for the development of its agriculture, for the extension of its manufactures, for the enlargement of its educational facilities, will be done by the Republican party without delay and without

grudging. But all this can be done, and will be done, for those communities and States only where the equality of all men before the law is a living, practical fact.—P. 481.

In the concluding paragraph Mr. Boutwell expresses, undoubtedly, the real feeling of all parties at the North in behalf of every effort to promote the prosperity of the South. Demagogues here in the North, as well as in the South, are indeed maintaining, as their fundamental principle, the pretended axiom that "*the North hates the South.*" Such demagogues are the genuine enemies of both sections. That many things in the South are reprehended as injurious to the South, and unjust to other sections, is true. But those things are the real impediments to Southern prosperity, and their removal would promote the highest Southern interests, and their candid specification is an act of friendship. But Mr. Boutwell's proposal to use the national force against the South, as not possessing "a republican form of government," would be a stretch both of interpretation and of power which the Republican party will never adopt and the people of the North would never sustain. All the States are in possession of "a republican form of government," and the whole constitutional duty of Congress is, therefore, fulfilled. But for the central government to go farther and assume to decide whether all the specific acts, executive, legislative, or personal, under that "form" are consistent with the spirit of the "form," would be going beyond the record. It would be thereby unconstitutional, arbitrary, and leading to very dangerous complications. There are true "States' rights," and the fact that those "rights" have been illegitimately asserted should never induce us to consent to their obliteration. That the wrongs of which Mr. Boutwell complains exist there is no doubt. But there are other remedies than force, which will bring an earlier, safer, and more effective correction than any central force can accomplish.

THE PRINCETON REVIEW, November, 1880. (New York.) 1. The Ultimate Design of Man; by Prof. Frederic Godet, D.D. 2. How Congress and the Public Deal with a Great Revenue and Industrial Problem; by Hon. David A. Wells. 3. The Sabbath Question; by President Seelye. 4. Agnosticism in Kant; by Prof. Ormond. 5. The Antiquity of Man and the Origin of Species; by Principal Dawson. 6. The Historical Proofs of Christianity; by George P. Fisher. 7. Criteria of the Various Kinds of Truth; by President M'Cosh.

The following extract from Dr. Dawson's article, furnishes a notice of the profound researches of Barrande of Bohemia in

earliest paleontology. It will be seen that they are very conclusive against any theory of genetic derivation of species:

Barrande, like some other eminent paleontologists, has the misfortune to be an unbeliever in the modern gospel of evolution, but he has certainly labored to overcome his doubts with greater assiduity than even many of the apostles of the new doctrine; and if he is not convinced, the stubbornness of the facts he has had to deal with must bear the blame. In connection with his great and classical work on the Silurian fossils of Bohemia, it has been necessary for him to study the similar remains of every other country, and he has used this immense mass of material in preparing statistics of the population of the Paleozoic world more perfect than any other naturalist has been able to produce. In previous publications he has applied these statistical results to the elucidation of the history of the oldest group of crustaceans, the trilobites, and the highest group of the mollusks, the cephalopods. In his latest memoir of this kind he takes up the brachiopods, or lamp-shells, a group of bivalve shell-fishes, very ancient and very abundantly represented in all the older formations of every part of the world, and which thus affords the most ample material for tracing its evolution, with the least possible difficulty in the nature of "imperfection of the record."

Barrande, in the publication before us, discusses the brachiopods with reference, first, to the variations observed within the limits of the species, eliminating in this way mere synonyms and varieties mistaken for species. He also arrives at various important conclusions with reference to the origin of species and varietal forms, which apply to the cephalopods and trilobites as well as to the brachiopods, and some of which, as the writer has elsewhere shown, apply very generally to fossil animals and plants. One of these is that different contemporaneous species, living under the same conditions, exhibit very different degrees of vitality and variability. Another is the sudden appearance at certain horizons of a great number of species, each manifesting its complete specific characters. With very rare exceptions, also, varietal forms are contemporaneous with the normal form of their specific type, and occur in the same localities. Only in a very few cases do they survive it. This and the previous results, as well as the fact that parallel changes go on in groups having no direct reaction on each other, prove that variation is not a progressive influence, and that specific distinctions are not dependent on it, but on the "sovereign action of one and the same creative cause," as Barrande expresses it. These conclusions, it may be observed, are not arrived at by that slap-dash method of mere assertion so often followed on the other side of these questions; but by the most severe and painstaking induction, and with careful elaboration of a few apparent exceptions and doubtful cases.

His second heading relates to the distribution in time of the

genera and species of brachiopods. This he illustrates with a series of elaborate tables, accompanied by explanation. He then proceeds to consider the animal population of each formation, in so far as brachiopods, cephalopods, and trilobites are concerned, with reference to the following questions: 1. How many species are continued from the previous formation unchanged? 2. How many may be regarded as modifications of previous species? 3. How many are migrants from other regions where they have been known to exist previously? 4. How many are absolutely new species? These questions are applied to each of 14 successive formations included in the Silurian of Bohemia. The total number of species of brachiopods in these formations is 640, giving an average of 45.71 to each, and the results of accurate study of each species in its characters, its varieties, its geographical and geological range, are expressed in the following short statement, which should somewhat astonish those gentlemen who are so fond of asserting that derivation is "demonstrated" by geological facts:

1. Species continued unchanged.....	28 per cent.
2. Species migrated from abroad.....	7 "
3. Species continued with modification.....	0 "
4. New species without known ancestors...	65 "
<hr/>	
100 per cent.	

He shows that the same or very similar proportions hold with respect to the cephalopods and trilobites, and in fact that *the proportion of species in the successive Silurian faunae, which can be attributed to descent with modification is absolutely nil.* He may well remark that in the face of such facts the origin of species is not explained by what he terms "les élans poétiques de l'imagination."

I have thought it well to direct attention to these memoirs of Barrande, because they form a specimen of conscientious work with the view of ascertaining if there is any basis in nature for the doctrine of spontaneous evolution of species, and, I am sorry to say, a striking contrast to the mixture of fact and fancy on this subject which too often passes current for science in England, America, and Germany. Barrande's studies are also well deserving the attention of our younger men of science, as they have before them, more especially in the widely spread Paleozoic formations of America, an admirable field for similar work. In an appendix to his first chapter, Barrande mentions that the three men who, in their respective countries, are the highest authorities on Paleozoic brachiopods, Hall, Davidson, and De Koninck, agree with him in the main in his conclusions, and he refers to an able memoir by D'Archaic, in the same sense, on the cretaceous brachiopods.—Pp. 396-398.



*English Reviews.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1880. (London.)—1. Professor Robertson Smith and the Pentateuch. 2. "Scotch Sermons, 1880." 3. Ten Days in Strassbourg. 4. Christ's Victory over Death. 5. Missions and Missionaries. 6. Spinozism and Old Testament Criticism. 7. On the Church Crisis in England. 8. The Faith of Islam. 9. The Moral Basis of Faith.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1880. (London.)—1. Tennyson's Poems. 2. The Lord's Supper Historically Considered. 3. The Art of Singing, Past and Present. 4. A Dutchman on South Africa. 5. Latham on Examinations. 6. Sir James Outram. 7. Exploration and Mission Work in Africa. 8. The Practice of an Architect. 9. Lord Northbrook and Lord Lytton.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1880. (New York.)—1. Paul and Seneca. 2. The Parliamentary Oath Question; Mr. Bradlaugh's Case. 3. Caroline Von Linsingen and King William IV. 4. Plato and his Times. 5. Chastity. 6. "The Religious Instinct" of the House of Commons. 7. East Indian Currency and Exchange. 8. India and our Colonial Empire. 9. The Colonies.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1880. (New York.)—1. Recent Travels in Japan. 2. Cicero. 3. Art Collections. 4. Mr. Morley's Diderot. 5. The Camisards. 6. Olympia. 7. The Newspaper Press. 8. The Marshal Duke of Saldanha. 9. Six Months of Liberal Government.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October. (London.)—1. Herbert on the Lord's Supper. 2. Is Islam Progressive? 3. Theological Change in Scotland. 4. Dr. Rigg's Discourses. 5. Faust. 6. Devotion of Nehemiah. 7. The Methodist Conference.

The third article reviews Dr. Caird's "Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," a volume of rather free *Scotch Sermons* by a number of bold young speculators, and other publications. The following opening paragraph describes the spread of

## THE SCOTTISH RATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT.

The works whose titles we have placed at the head of this paper are among the "signs of the times." They add to the many palpable and abounding evidences that in Scotland the retreat from Calvinism has become a stampede. The defection began long ago, and uttered its voice in many a moan of "Moderatism;" but during the last half century the spread of science, the advance of wealth and culture, the disruption of Churches, the agency of Methodism, and the contact of Scotchmen with men in every part of the earth, have combined to weaken the theological system which once seemed so firm. Now its collapse seems so imminent that men literally overrun each other in their flight to other places of shelter. In the transition we fear that precious things may be lost, useful landmarks will be obliterated, and positions may be yielded in panic which could be easily sustained. But the operation which is progressing is full of instruction to men of all Churches; and a movement so fraught with importance to the most tremendous interests of belief and religion will be watched with intense concern by the eyes of all Christendom.—P. 72.



The following statement of Dr. Caird's denial that life can be explained by mechanism is excellent:

As we have already intimated, the chief end of Dr. Caird's cogitations is to reply to Materialism. He insists that this theory is totally inadequate to explain the phenomena of mind. It supposes mind to be a function of matter, yet cannot take its first step without employing categories of thought. The empiricist talks of Matter, Law, and Force, as if they were real entities, on the level of sensuous things. Though experience is more than sensation, yet his axiom, "All knowledge is from experience," assumes that experience and sensation are identical. Experience is One, and Sensations are Many; Sensation is diversified, but reason gives it Unity. The relation and co-ordination are from the self-conscious Ego. Mechanical causes can never explain the operations of mind. Vital, chemical, and physical relations are not to be resolved into one order. The purely chemical has never yet produced life; protoplasm analyzed is not living but dead, and when living it presents new phenomena which involve a new factor. Though matter should contain potencies of life, yet life contains a new and higher conception. It involves "a richer movement," (Hegelian momentum,) containing at least three ideas. These are—First, Systematic Unity. A stone has inorganic unity—is "a concourse of atoms;" but the organized being has order, proportion, diversity, and function applied to an end. Secondly, While the inorganic has artificial unity, the organic has a self-supporting development and unity; the parts are necessary to the whole, and the whole to the parts. The cause lies, indeed, in its effects—is, indeed, its own cause. . . . The third element in the conception of life which transcends the category of force is found in self-consciousness. Tindall and Huxley have imagined that the mechanical equivalent to thought may some time be found. Dr. Caird thinks the mystery of the connection between matter and mind to be both greater and less than these writers suppose. It is less: for since material phenomena can be known to mind, there is no impassable gulf between them; yet it is greater, for physical causation cannot explain it. He asserts that the indivisible unity of consciousness transcends all differences. The whole consciousness is present in every thought. The analogy, therefore, between material forces and spiritual motives is fallacious. With this, of course, there collapses the differentialia of Calvinism as elaborated by Jonathan Edwards.—P. 78.

Of the *Scotch Sermons* we need give only the following specimen by Rev. W. M'Farlan:

He says: "Many religious teachers admit that the dogmas of scholastic theology must be abandoned or greatly modified. The sections of that theology which treat of sin and salvation they regard as specially untenable. These sections comprehend the following dogmas: (1) the descent of man from the Adam of

the Book of Genesis; (2) the fall of that Adam from a state of original righteousness by eating the forbidden fruit; the imputation of Adam's guilt to all posterity; (4) the consequent death of all men in sin; (5) the redemption in Christ of an election according to grace; (6) the quickening in the elect of a new life (*a*) at their baptism Catholics affirm, (*b*) at their conversion most Protestants allege; (7) the eternal punishment and perdition of those who remain unregenerate. These sections of the traditional theology of Christendom—originally elaborated by Augustine, amended and developed by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, adopted wholesale by the Puritans—dominated the Christian Intellect for centuries. They have ceased to dominate it.”—P. 220.

We will add to this what Dr. Macintosh says on the Atonement and on Forgiveness: “By his death on the cross Christ may be said, in a figurative sense indeed, to have expiated our sins, or to have purchased their remission; it being important to observe that the figures vary. But what he did, in the strict and literal sense, was to reveal to us the infinite placability of the divine Nature. . . . We define forgiveness to be the persistence of divine love in spite of our sins.”—Pp. 177, 181.

We need no further witness of the disintegration and dissolution of Calvinism. That it was among “the things which should not be shaken,” we never believed. But, unfortunately, in its dissolution, the Gospel also is in danger of being lost. These writers seem to have no idea of an evangelical system without the forms in which their fathers have so firmly trusted. These sermons reveal an utter weariness with mere orthodoxy, with the bald evangelicalism which despises good works, with the theory of human nature which denies that a saving Spirit is given to every man. They insist that justification is nothing without regeneration, that election is nothing without holiness, and protest in the name of morality against a doctrine of “salvation” which gives a bad man the hope of heaven because he is “elected,” and shuts out the man who diligently pursues the path of moral goodness. But these protestations are made now as if for the first time; as if no one had been qualified to denounce these theological absurdities before the “science” and “biblical criticism” of the latter days made it imperative. We are afraid that these writers have never read the works of John Fletcher, which no less an authority than Dr. Döllinger declares to be “the most important theological productions which issued from Protestantism in the latter part of the eighteenth century.” They do not recognize the fact that Methodism is escaping the shock of modern Rationalism, to a very large extent, because it separated from Calvinism a century since. They have not permitted themselves to be sufficiently unprejudiced to learn from Wesley and his followers that “good works” are an essential part of the Gospel as well as “faith;” and to vindicate the one they repudiate the other.—Pp. 92, 93.

*German Reviews.*

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1881. First Number—*Essays*: 1. DORNER, Hartmann's Pessimistic Philology. 2. ERHARDT, The Views of the Reformers on National Economy, (Second Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. WAITZ, Exegetical Remarks on John vii, 22-24. 2. KAWERAU, Five Letters Written in the Days of Luther's Death. *Reviews*: 1. GOEBEL, The Parables of Jesus, reviewed by ACHELIS. 2. HEERLINGER, Melancthon's Theology, reviewed by TSCHAKERT. 3. RYSEL, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, reviewed by SCHULTZE.

In the opinion of Dr. Dorner, the modern system of Pessimism, which has of late spread so extensively, has gained a special claim to attentive consideration by the fact that it does not confine itself to criticising the present condition of our civilization, but that it attempts to set forth a complete cosmic view, which, though inconsistent in many respects, may be taken as an indication how earnestly a large portion of our contemporaries have embraced it. Dr. Dorner was induced by this consideration to examine critically the scientific character which Pessimism has assumed in the philosophy of Edward von Hartmann, who, he says, considerably distances all the pessimistic writers of the present age by attempting to set forth a philosophical system embracing all parts of philosophy.

The name of Edward von Hartmann has repeatedly been mentioned in the former volumes of the Methodist Quarterly Review. He holds a high rank among the first writers of philosophical literature, even in the opinion of those who, like Dr. Dorner, believe that his system is radically false and injurious to the best interests of mankind. It may, therefore, not be out of place if we give a brief account of his life and his works before we extract a few passages from Dr. Dorner's very interesting article. Edward von Hartmann is the son of the Prussian general Robert von Hartmann, and was born in 1842. He received the excellent scientific education which is imparted in the military schools of Prussia, and at the early age of eighteen became an officer of the Prussian army. A nervous disease of the knee, which began in 1861 and gradually grew worse, compelled him, in 1865, to ask for his discharge from the standing army. Even while in the army he had earnestly devoted himself to philosophical studies, the results of which he published, in 1869, in his work, *Die Philosophie des Unbewussten*, (The Philosophy of the Unconscious.) The

publication of this book produced a sensation in the philosophical world. It gave to its author, at the age of only twenty-seven, a world-wide celebrity. It had a circulation probably exceeding that of any previous work of the same character. The success appeared all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the author had been brought up for the military career, and not for that of philosopher. The first edition of the work was published in 1869, the seventh in 1875. The publication of this work was rapidly followed by a large number of smaller works on philosophy, religion, education, and a great variety of other subjects. In fact, Hartmann belongs to the most prolific writers of the present age. A collection of his essays was published under the title, *Gesammelte philosophische Abhandlungen zur Philosophie des Unbewussten*, (Collection of Philosophical Treatises on the Philosophy of the Unconscious. Berlin, 1872.) A little work on "The Decay of Christianity and the Religion of the Future," (1874,) attracted considerable attention, and called forth a great many replies. The second great work of Hartmann was published in 1879, under the title "Phenomenology of the Ethical Consciousness," (*Phaenomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins*.) Hartmann's wife, Agnes, has written, under her maiden name, A. Taubert, a work under the title, "Pessimism and its Opponents." (Berlin, 1873.) Works in defense of the new philosophy have also been written by Du Prel, Venetianer, Mainländer, and others. The number of books written against Hartmann's system in particular, and against the pessimistic philosophy in general, is very extensive. Dr. Dorner, in the article from which we give some extracts, quotes the following works and articles: Rehmke, "Remarks on Hartmann's Phenomenology," in the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, (1879;) Michelis, (Old Catholic,) "Philosophy of the Unconscious;" Ebrard, (one of the most prominent theologians of the German Protestant Church,) "Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious," (1876;) Golther, (State Minister of Württemberg,) "Modern Pessimism;" Pfeiderer, "Modern Pessimism;" Weygoldt, "Critique of Modern Pessimism." The German Cyclopædias mention, moreover, works against Hartmann by Tobias, Haym, Weis, B. Meyer, Knauer, Volkelt, and J. C. Fisher. A full account of Hart

mann's Philosophy, and of its influence in the philosophical world, may be found in Vaihinger, "Hartmann, Düring, and Lange, Contributions to the History of German Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century," (1876;) and Oscar Schmidt, "The Physical Bases of the Philosophy of the Unconscious," (1876.) Hartmann's autobiography has been published in the German periodical, *Die Gegenwart*, 1875.

Hartmann designated his stand-point as a Monism, conciliating Hegel's logical idea and Schopenhauer's blind will in the unity of the Unconscious, which in his system occupies the same place as Spinoza's substance, Fichte's absolute I, (Ego,) Schelling's absolute subject-object. The Unconscious, according to Hartmann, is both will and idea, both real and ideal, both unlogical and logical, and the development of the world is nothing but the continuous conflict of these two elements which ends in the triumph of the logical, or the idea, over the unlogical, or the will. Since the unlogical, or will, constitutes the foundation and essence of the world, the world itself is anti-rational in its existence and essence; and it is the task of reason to reduce the anti-rational will to non-will, and to the painlessness of nothing, (the Nirvāna of Buddhism and of Schopenhauer,) as the redemption from the torment of existence, not of individual men, (by suicide, etc.,) but of mankind. Therefore the pessimistic view of the unhappiness in the world does not lead to quietism, to cowardly personal resignation and retirement, to a denial of the world, (as in Schopenhauer's system,) but it rather produces a full devotion of the personality to the development of the world for the sake of its aim—the universal redemption of mankind—and thus it leads to a positive affirmation of the will for life, to a reconciliation with life.

Dr. Dorner's article on Hartmann's system fills 106 pages in the "Studien und Kritiken." It treats of it in the following sections: 1. His Relation to Schopenhauer; 2. His Theory of Cognition, (Erkenntnistheorie;) 3. Metaphysics; 4. Physics; 5. Teleology, (Zweckbegriff;) 6. Critique of his Metaphysics; 7. Presuppositions of Ethics; 8. Ethical Principle; 9. Ethics, considered in their different aspects; 10. Relation to Religion; 11. Conclusion.

As regards Hartmann's views on religion, we learn from Dr. Dorner's essay that Hartmann, like Schopenhauer, respects



religion in general as the people's metaphysics. "The nude bestiality of the social democracy," he says, "as exhibited in its cosmopolitan exultation over the horrors of the Paris Commune, shows to what degree of brutality a people may attain when it loses with religion the only shape in which idealism is accessible to it. Yea, religion contains not only the mere metaphysical ideas of the people, but also the means to give, upon the basis of these metaphysics, an impulse as vigorous and lasting as possible to the religious feelings, namely, religious worship and religious ethics. . . . All ideals and the devotion of the mind to the ideal are embodied, according to the people's view in religion. It is only religion which continually admonishes him that there is something higher than eating, drinking, and wedding; that this temporal world of the senses is not for him something final, but only the appearance of the eternal, supersensual and ideal, the shadows of which we see here as in a mist." Therefore, religion must always remain the living source for the emotional element in religious worship, and for the ethical emotion of the will. It is the only means to preserve the people from the terrible excesses of subjectivism. Philosophy may rise above these popular metaphysics; it also may gradually elevate the people to higher stages of consciousness. While thus paying some kind of respect to religion he donounces theology as a false and spurious science, and charges it with doing nothing but to reduce the ideas of popular imagination to a scientific form, without, in fact, rising above this low stand-point. He assumes an impassable gap to exist between science and religion. Therefore he thinks that it cannot be the mission of the men of science to transform religion, except it be by producing ideas which others may clothe for popular use into more popular forms. It is a matter of course that in his opinion religion and philosophy coincide for the philosopher. The development of religion proceeds from Polytheism through the contrast of the popular mind of the Aryans and Semites. Both try, in different ways, to overcome Polytheism. The former, especially the Indians, obtain this unity of an impersonal deity, but are unable to carry it through in the consciousness of the people, where Polytheism maintains itself, even among the Buddhists. The Semites, on the other hand, while overcoming Polytheism, only reach an anthropomorphised



personal God. The true religion would lie in the union of the Aryan and the Semitic ideas; the Semites must furnish the Monotheistic, the Indians the Pantheistic element. Christianity is regarded as the first unsuccessful attempt to effect this union. In its ideas of God, Hartmann says it knows only one God, and him it conceives as a personal God; besides, in the doctrine of the Trinity a relapse into Polytheism is not avoided. Hartmann especially censures the theism of Christianity as requiring "heteronomous" ethics. He attempts to trace the "heteronomous" character of the Christian ethics both in the Roman Catholic and the Protestant systems. His views on Protestantism, however, have considerably changed. While in the work on the decay of Christianity he calls Protestantism "the grave-digger of Christianity," he makes it in his "Phenomenology" the "preparatory grade in the school of humanity," without the passage of which no people can reach an ethical autonomy as a safe possession.

In the final chapter of his essay Dr. Dorner reviews the principal points of Hartmann's philosophy. He especially endeavors to show up its inconsistency. "It hovers," says Dr. Dorner, "between heaven and earth. Too lame to reach heaven, it is yet unable to feel at home upon earth. Thus Pessimism, and particularly Hartmann's philosophy, will maintain its significance in the history of German philosophy as a stage of transition from the rule of empiricism and eudemonism to a new positive-ideal progress."

*ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE.* (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Brieger. *Treatises and Essays:* 1. RITSCHL, The Books entitled "On Spiritual Poverty." 2. VÖLTER, The Sect of Swäbisch-Hall and the Origin of the German "Kaisersage." *Critical Reviews:* BENRATH, History of the Reformation in Italy. The Literature of the Years 1876 to 1879. *Analecta:* 1. ERICHSON, Hedios Itinerarium. 2. KAWERAU, Letters and Documents Relating to the History of the Antinomistic Controversy. 3. Miscellaneous Remarks, by SAUERBEEI and BENRATH.

We have called attention in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review to the excellent department headed "Critical Reviews." In it distinguished Church historians review from time to time all the new works published in the course of a few years on some section of Church history. A review in the present number, by Dr. Benrath, of new works treating of the Reformation in Italy, is equal to the best articles of this kind which have appeared in this periodical. Dr. Benrath is

a young lecturer in the faculty of Protestant theology of Bonn, who has made the study of the Italian Reformation a specialty, and has already acquired the reputation of being one of the highest living authorities on the subject. In his present article he enumerates eighteen new works, and briefly gives the chief contents of each. He had previously contributed an article of the same kind to the volume of this periodical for 1875, and in 1876 had published a small work, entitled, "On the Sources of the History of the Italian Reformation." The author expresses, in his present article, great joy at the activity which is now exhibited by the Italians themselves to bring to light the hidden treasures of the Italian libraries relating to the conflicts between the Papacy and the Liberal governments of a number of Italian States in the sixteenth century. He quotes, as a document of special importance, a circular issued in 1876 by the Minister of Justice, Mancini, to the Directors of the State Archives, in which he says: "Among the most glorious leaves of the annals of Italy we must count those which report examples of civil courage and firmness of individuals and governments who dared bravely to resist a power which had become terrible to the existence and independence of the nation. But the documents which give testimony of such manifestations of national life are for the most part yet unknown. I believe I render an important service to the interests of the nation if I should succeed in compiling and in publishing from the various archives of the principal cities a collection of hitherto unedited and little-known documents of this class." The minister recommends especially search for documents bearing upon the relations between the House of Savoy and the Curia, the conflicts between Venice and Paul V., the opposition of Naples against the introduction of the Inquisition, etc.

A very valuable library of books relating to the history of the Reformation of Italy has been collected by Count Piero Guicciardini, and has been since 1877 in possession of the city of Florence. Count Guicciardini, the<sup>1</sup>venerable patriarch among the native converts to Protestantism, had at first conceived the plan of collecting all the Italian translations of the Bible from the fifteenth century to the present time. While he examined for this purpose the libraries of Switzerland,

France, and England, the plan was gradually enlarged so as to include all works relating to the history of the Reformation. For eighteen years Count Guicciardini devoted his time and a large portion of his property to collecting works on this subject, and he succeeded in forming a library of more than three thousand volumes. The library has been put in order and catalogued by T. P. Rossetti, who has given a description of it in the "*Vedetta Christiana*," May 1, 1877.

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*French Reviews.*

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) September, 1880.—1. ALONE, Amelia de Lassaulx. 2. BRUSTON, On the Morality of the Song of Songs. 3. CRAZALET, Frederic Mistral. 4. DUCROS, Vinet's Individualism. 5. PRESSENSE, Reply to the Preceding Article.

October.—1. ALONE, Amelia de Lassaulx. 2. CUNNING, Dante Alighieri. 3. BOUSCASSE, On the Religious Instruction of Children.

November.—1. BIANQUI, Sermon on the Reformation. 2. CUNNING, Dante Alighieri, (Second Article.) 3. JACOT, Some Words of Professor Beck. 4. NYEGAARD, Assistant Pastors. 5. LORIOR, A Great Man and a Great Nature.

Among the most distinguished persons who joined the Old Catholic movement of Germany was the Superior of the Convent of the Sisters of Charity, at Bonn, Amelia de Lassaulx. She was the descendant of a distinguished family at Coblenz, on the Rhine, which, as the name indicates, was of French origin. She was one of six children, all of whom made their mark in the world, the most distinguished being her brother, Ernest de Lassaulx, who became Professor at the University of Munich, and was regarded, with Döllinger, as one of the pillars of the Catholic interests at that important institution. Like her father and all her brothers and sisters, Amelia was early noted for a strong, unconquerable will. Her parents wished to marry her against her will, but she successfully resisted, because a mysterious love, in regard to which her biographers observe an absolute silence, prevented her from accepting the propositions made to her. She subsequently gave her entire affections to a young man whom for a time she thought to be the model of all perfections. When she found out that in her estimation of her lover she had been sadly mistaken, she broke not only

with him, but, as many Catholic girls do in similar circumstances, with the world, and resolved to become a nun. At the beginning of the present century there was a remarkable revival of the spirit of charity in Germany, both among Protestants and Catholics. Among the former Amelia Sieveking gained immortal laurels by her efforts in behalf of the poor. Among Catholics the young women flocked in large numbers to the religious orders which specially devote their labors to the care of the sick and poor. Amelia's elder sister had previously taken the veil as a "Gray Sister" at Nancy, France. Amelia concluded to follow her example; and she did follow it in spite of the remonstrances of her relations and friends, who, on account of her strong individualism, believed her unsuited for monastic life. At this time a mild type of Roman Catholicism prevailed in Germany and in many other countries. That system of ultramontaniam which was dogmatized in 1870 by the Vatican Council had but few zealous defenders. The Christian doctrines which Catholics hold in common with Evangelical Protestants were thought of greater moment than those which separate the large divisions of Christianity. Amelia de Lassaulx fully entered into this spirit, and when gradually the spiritual atmosphere in the Church began to change, and a rigid ultramontane Churchism began to claim an unconditional and a foremost recognition, Sister Amelia felt as though a new religion, full of childish practices and of superstitions, had been grafted upon the religion in which she had grown up. Her diary shows in many places that the consciousness of this difference caused her great pain, and her conscience revolted against much which she considered as being at variance with the teachings of Christ and the Christianity of the Bible. She had by this time risen to a prominent position in her order. At the age of only thirty-two years she was appointed Superior of a new house of her order which was established at Bonn. In this position she developed an extraordinary talent of organization, which was subsequently exhibited on a much larger scale when she was called upon, in the campaigns of Schleswig and Bohemia, to organize or reorganize the service of ambulances. Her eminent success in the management of the affairs of the convent was recognized by the Superiors of the order, who sent her from different houses many novices for education,

especially such about whose fitness or abilities serious doubts were entertained.

To many young women she thus became a guide to the attainment of an inner religious life, which found greater consolation in a strong Christian faith, in an ardent love of God and the poor, than in the strict observation of the many ceremonies of the Church. She weaned herself more and more from the narrow views which are so often met with in pious Catholic women, who are justly admired for their heroic devotion to works of Christian charity. She sought and appreciated the friendship of distinguished men and women; and among her best friends at Bonn she even counted a number of Protestants, as Professor Mendelssohn and his wife, the wife of Professor Sulpice Boisseré, and especially Professor Perthes. Her spiritual adviser was Professor Hilgers, of the theological faculty of Bonn, who preached every Sunday in her chapel, in the place of the Jesuits, of whom she had a great horror. In the campaign of Schleswig she at one time assisted a Lutheran pastor in giving to a sick soldier the Lord's Supper, an act which was never forgiven by the zealous ultramontanes. From 1855 to 1868 she lost her mother, her brothers Ernest and Hermann, her sister Nannette, and her friend Professor Perthes. The only member of her family who survived was her sister Clementine, Superior of the Convent of Luxemburgh, who was of an entirely different character, and had but little sympathy with her. The severe trial through which she had thus to pass was interrupted by the great crisis in her Church which began with the Vatican Council in 1870, and the dogmatization of papal infallibility. She felt the warmest sympathy with the eighty-eight bishops who voted against the new dogma, and felt all the more aggrieved when these bishops in rapid succession gave in their submission to the Pope, until at last only one remained, Bishop Strossmeyer. Even for him she trembled, and justly, for he, too, finally yielded to the demands of Rome. She felt some consolation in the fact that a man like Döllinger remained firm in his opposition. "Let us praise God," she said; "as long as such an apostle of truth and justice lives, I do not want to lose courage." She was at first opposed to the organization of the Old Catholic Church, which appeared to her like a schism, but after a time she perceived the necessity of the



movement, and approved of it. She was determined not to conceal her view; at the same time she did not deem it necessary to proclaim it before she was asked. This time soon came. She was denounced to the Superior of her order by a person whom, several years before, she had charitably received into her convent. The mistress of novices was sent from Nancy to Bonn to ascertain her belief concerning Papal Infallibility. She frankly and promptly acknowledged it. "And as to the Immaculate Conception," she was asked, "do you not believe in it, either?" "As a dogma," she said, "I do not believe in it either," and added, "I wish to keep until death the Catholic faith in which I was born, in which I was raised, which I have faithfully observed all my life. I shall not allow new doctrines to be imposed upon me." A few days later the Mother Superior arrived herself from Nancy, and when the above declaration was repeated, Amelia de Lassaulx, after having twenty-five years presided over the Community of Bonn, was deposed from her office. She was told that she could not remain in Bonn, and though her health was so feeble that her physician forbade an immediate departure, she was removed to a little hospital of the order at Vallendaar, near Coblenz. Her friends in Bonn invited her to leave the order and reside with them, but she considered herself bound by her vows, and concluded to remain and die in the order. Death soon relieved her from further suffering. She arrived at Vallendaar December 14, 1871, and died January 28, 1872. All who surrounded her death-bed united in asking her to submit, but she finally refused. Her dying words were two verses from a Protestant hymn,

"Lord Jesus, in Thee I live,  
Lord Jesus, in Thee I die,"

and several times she ejaculated the words, "Come, Lord Jesus." By order of the Superior the body was deprived of the monastic dress, and it was even forbidden to place a crucifix in her hands. In accordance with her wish, the body was interred in the Catholic cemetery of Coblenz, in the vault of the Lassaulx family. Permission was obtained only with great difficulty to carry the corpse through the large gate of the cemetery. Orders had been given that no priest be present or officiate at the funeral. The Old Catholic Professor Reusch, of the Uni-



versity of Bonn, was only allowed to recite the Lord's Prayer. Several excellent biographies related the story of her holy, devoted life to the German people. At the head of the article from which the foregoing remarks are taken we find the titles of two French works, "*Courte Notice sur Amélie de Lassaulx*," by H. Lecoultre, with an introduction of M. Hyacinthe Loyson, priest, Paris, 1879; and "*Amélie de Lassaulx, en religion soeur Augustine*." The latter work contains an authorized translation of her "*Reminiscences*." Lausanne, 1880. Among the innumerable articles which the leading papers of Germany and France have devoted to her life, the admirable article which E. de Pressensé has contributed to the "*Journal des Debats*," deserves to be prominently mentioned. He calls Amelia de Lassaulx the Saint of the Catholic Reformation.

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#### ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

##### THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

WHILE in 1879 three Old Catholic synods met in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, only one assembled in 1880, that of Switzerland. The Swiss synod began its sessions at Geneva on May 20. From the annual report of Bishop Herzog it appears that the Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland has suffered since the synod of 1879 the loss of twelve parishes and ten priests. This loss was due to the recurrence of the six years' period of popular election of priests. In the parishes where the Roman Catholic party had a majority it elected the priest and retook possession of the church property. Most of the parishes which were lost had been but nominally held, the number of Old Catholics being very small; but in three, at least, there is a very strong body of Christian-Catholics who demand the services of a priest and the use of a church. In these three the reformers having lost the income of the parish, which goes with the election, have to support their priests out of their own resources. In two cases of a contested election the Old Catholics were in a majority and held the parish. Other losses were in prospect for the current year. To support their services in the places which the Old Catholics lose the government grant, the bishop has appealed to the generosity of the Anglican Churches, and in his report he acknowledges the receipt of 5,000 francs from the secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society of London. The bishop reports fifty-nine priests as being at work in Switzerland, as against seventy-two of 1879; and five students of the Berne University were awaiting ordination. Among the losses of ecclesiastics since the synod of 1879 only two were cases of secession to

Rome. There was no diminution in any canton but Berne and Geneva. The number of established parishes in the possession of Old Catholics was forty-eight. A Christian-Catholic Prayer Book which had been prepared by Bishop Herzog, after the model of the Anglican manual, was adopted by the synod as the official manual of the Christian-Catholic Church, and it was ordered that the office of the mass contained therein should be used universally. A committee of five, consisting of the bishop and the two German-speaking and two French-speaking members, was appointed for the completion of the rubrics and for the preparation of an edition suitable for theological use. Among those attending the synod as visitors were Dr. Riley, Bishop of the Valley of Mexico; Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath; and M. Hyacinthe Loyson, rector of the Gallican Church in Paris. In September and October, Bishop Herzog, in response to friendly invitations, paid a visit to the United States, and attended, in particular, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He repeatedly performed in Episcopal churches liturgical acts in his own clerical garments, and expressed himself strongly in favor of establishing a closer intercommunion between the Anglican and the Old Catholic Churches.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany has now settled into a round of synod and congress to be held in alternate years. The former is the authoritative legislative body, the latter, like the Church congresses in the Anglican Church of England and the United States, a popular, tone-giving assembly. As the synod had been held in 1879, a congress met again in 1880. It took place at Baden-Baden from Sept. 12 to 14, and was the seventh since the rise of the Old Catholic movement, the former having been held at Munich, Cologne, Constance, Freiburg, Breslau, and Mainz. The congress in 1880 was well attended by delegates from the congregations, over 150 being present. The Berne and Munich professors still hold aloof from the meetings of the Church. Among the prominent men of the Church who attended were Bishop Reinkens, and the Professors Schulte, Michelis, and Knoedt. Among the visitors from abroad were an Old Catholic priest of Austria and five Anglican clergymen. Letters of friendly greeting were sent by six Anglican bishops and the Old Catholic or Jansenist Archbishop of Holland. Professor Michelis made an interesting report of a visit he had just paid to the neighboring city of Constance, where an ultramontane congress had been in session. He had preached there, and had publicly challenged the bishops attending the congress to discuss with him the following thesis: "The personal infallibility of the Pope is either a Catholic dogma or a terrible imposture; it is not a Catholic dogma, because it is not contained in Scripture, is not handed down in tradition, and has not been decreed by an ecumenical council; therefore it is a fearful imposture." Bishop Reinkens reported favorably on the progress of the Church in Germany. The progress was not large, but it could be tabulated. The figures of the present year gave a slight advance all along the line over those of the last year; but then it must be remem-

bered that in 1876-78 a somewhat serious falling off had been observable. The number of Old Catholics of Germany is still somewhat under the 50,000 returned a few years ago, and the number of priests is also proportionately less; the announcement, therefore, that at last there was a turn in the tide was received with great satisfaction. The congress adopted the following resolutions as expressive of the present stand-point of the Old Catholic party in relation to the papacy: 1. An actual and effective contradiction between faith in the fundamental truths of Christianity founded upon the testamentary proof of history, and science grounded upon the immediate facts of nature and mind, is not possible. Each protects, carries on, and completes the other. 2. The independent character of national Churches is just as much in accordance with the universal character of the Church as are national peculiarities in the State, art, and science, with the general object of culture. 3. It is a mischievous error of many Protestants to regard the Church which the adherents of the Vatican are bound to recognize as the only rightful one, as the shield of faith, a rallying point for authority in civil and social affairs, and a protection against destructive socialistic tendencies, and therefore to adopt it as a conservative ally. 4. History, the task and duty of self-preservation, compels the German empire to oppose the Vatican system. 5. Negotiations with the infallible Pope or his organs upon all matters which concern the promulgation of laws and the authority of the State are objectionable. Transactions of this kind lead to the dissolution of the national State. The Prussian government seems no longer to take the same interest in the progress of the movement as in former years; but when, in the beginning of the year, objection was made in the Prussian House of Deputies to that item of the budget which makes provision for the Old Catholic bishop, the minister, Herr von Puttkammer, stated, in the name of the government, that this arrangement was a part of the law of the land, and that the government intended to carry out the ecclesiastical laws as long as they remained on the statute books.

In Austria the Old Catholics appear to have made no progress. An application to the government, made by the synodal council which was elected in June, 1879, for recognition by the State, was denied by the minister of religion, who said that the State could not afford to grant it.

In France the congregation of M. Hyacinthe Loyson reported in June, 1880, a membership of about 1,000. It did not yet own a church building, and was about \$1,000 in debt. It had three priests. On August 27 M. Loyson solemnized the marriage of a regular priest, Abbe Laine.

In Russia, the province of Volhynia has several communities of Bohemians who have attached themselves to the Old Catholic movement. They have three priests who are recognized and supported by the State. In reply to a memorial addressed to the Minister of the Interior, the priests even requested to hold a conference with some of the most influential of the Bohemian laymen to formulate a statement of their fundamental doctrines and organic constitution. This conference was to serve as a permanent organization and constitute a synodal council.

## ART. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.* By EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. 1880.

The Gospel of John, as our readers well know, has been one of the main battle-fields of Christian evidences, and the volumes published on the subject by our German cousins form an extensive library. One of the latest and most persistent assaults upon the genuineness of this gospel has been furnished by the author of "Supernatural Religion," a work which has passed through a number of editions. A royal service was done in behalf of its genuineness by a former distinguished professor in Harvard College, Andrews Norton; and it is refreshing to receive from Harvard even this brief posting of the subject down to the present hour from so thorough a scholar as Prof. Abbot.

The professor first counts the posts that have been won in the long war. *First.* The Tübingen theory, which imagined the Apostolic Church to be divided into two hostile camps—a Gentile, with Paul at its head, and a Judaic, under Peter and John; and that, therefore, John could not be the author of so anti-Jewish a gospel, is about abolished and extinct. We confess that we have never wasted our time in going into the depths of this theory, for it bore on its face an artificiality condemning it, *à priori*, as a German fandango. *Second.* The argument against the gospel derived from the paschal controversies is at an end. *Third.* The late dating the appearance of this gospel is now generally agreed to be untenable. Adverse criticism is compelled to admit so early a date that Church tradition, placing it at the close of the first century, is perfectly credible. The grounds thus cleared, the professor discusses the four main arguments for the authenticity: 1. The universal acceptance of the gospels as supreme authority in the latter half of the second century, necessitating the concession of their authority from the start. 2. The testimony of Justin Martyr. 3. The early Gnostic testimony to their authority. 4. The closing testimony of the gospel itself.

Justin Martyr justly figures as a very important witness in this trial. He gives us this classic passage: "On the day called Sunday all who live in cities, or in the country, gather together in one place, and the Memoirs by the Apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as time permits. When the reader

has finished, the president admonishes and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." Eight times he mentions these "Memoirs by the Apostles," once "Memoirs made by the Apostles, which are called Gospels," and once, in apparently quoting Luke, "Memoirs composed by the Gospel of Christ, and those who followed with them." The question is raised, Could these "Memoirs" be any other than our four gospels, John included?

The passage is of prime importance: 1. From the early position of Justin, whose life covered the immediate post-apostolic age so as to join on to the Canon itself. 2. From the permanence and universality of the practice of a liturgical reading of the gospels in the Christian Churches at this early date. 3. From the high rank thereby assigned to these "Memoirs," namely, a priority to the Old Testament prophets, liturgically read, in the churches as in the Jewish synagogues. We see thus how the canon came into spontaneous existence. And we may here note that the word *gospel*, *εὐαγγέλιον*, (good message,) was beautifully used by the primitive Church, as at the present day, to designate either of the four gospels as a book, then the common substance of the four as *the Gospel*, and, finally, the entire Christian doctrine.

Now, inasmuch as the next information on the subject finds the four evangelists thus read in supreme authority in all the Churches of the world, it is not easy to doubt that these were the so-called "gospels" of Justin. It is not easy to see how any one of these "gospels" could jump out of the hands of the churches, be supplanted by another, and never be heard of afterward.

But the opponents of the fourth gospel are competent to treat it with heroic practice. They maintain that the quotations of Justin are made, not from the present evangelists, but from some of the many spurious gospels extant in Justin's time. They show variations in language from our received gospel text. They even insinuate that the present gospel is later than Justin, and that Justin's quotations are really embodied into it from him. It is a wonderful world of research that has been brought to bear from all sides by the learned contributors to this part of the discussion. Our interest in it is less intense, from the fact that Baur & Co. have very little affected the mind of the American Church, and the noise of the battle has but faintly rumbled hither from another continent. This is all the better, from the fact that the heat of the fight is over, and men are beginning to wonder why the forced constructions of the firm aforesaid were ever thought worthy of so much racket. Prof. Abbot shows very clearly that there



were no such numerous spurious gospels in Justin's time as that his quotations could be attributed to them; that Justin's free quotations from memory are just such as he makes from the Old Testament, and such as are made by the fathers of the Church, and even by modern Christian writers very plentifully; and the priority of Justin to John's Gospel is essentially abandoned even by the opponents of the genuineness of the latter.

The fairness, clearness, and conclusiveness of Dr. Abbot's argument entitle him to the thanks of biblical scholars.

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*The Wesley Memorial Volume; or, Wesley and the Methodist Movement Judged by nearly One Hundred and Fifty Writers, Living and Dead. Edited by Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., LL.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. Macon: J. W. Burke. Nashville: J. B. McFerrin. St. Louis: L. D. Dameron & Co. 1880. 8vo., pp. 744.*

The enterprising editor of this elegant MEMORIAL VOLUME has unwittingly furnished an ecumenical Methodist book preparatory to our Ecumenical Methodist Council. His aim was to bring within its pages a representative writer from every Methodist organization of every country or color. Whatever of differences have existed, all could unite upon Wesley, his doctrines and his work, as their common center. Signally happy is the father of the great Wesleyan family, in that his name is for all a note of harmony and oneness.

The Memorial Church, whose interests gave existence to this volume, is well entitled to this honor from its being erected "in the only city in America in which Mr. Wesley had a home and a parish." The beautiful city of SAVANNAH has this singular pre-eminence in our South—a section rich in memorial spots of our Methodist primitive history. Our John-street Church in New York, where Embury inaugurated American Methodism, and Boston's beautiful Common, where Lee discharged the first gun for New England Methodism, are spots of memorial interest for every reflective Methodist in every section of our great country. Under Dr. Clark's suggestion and skillful guidance, Savannah now asserts her claim on unique grounds to being the most primitive memorial spot for Methodism in America.

The editor was singularly successful in obtaining ready contributions from a large corps of able pens in both England and America, both within and without the communion of Methodism. Such writers as Punshon, Rigg, Pope, and Tyerman, represent English Methodism. Men like Bishops Simpson, E. O.

Haven, Foss, Dr. Newman, and Dr. Abel Stevens, represent our Methodist Episcopal Church. Of the lights of our Church South, there are Bishops M'Tyeire, G. F. Pierce, Wightman, Drs. Lipscomb and Summers, with several contributions from the prolific mind of the editor. From the colored American Churches are Bishop Holsey and Rev. B. F. Lee. From the other continent outside of Methodism are Dean Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, and de Presensé. These are brilliant names, and the volume should be welcomed to the hands and hearts of universal Methodism as an ecumenical book. It will furnish an admirable prelude to the meeting of that approaching Council by which Catholic Methodism will stand out in her unity with a fresh distinctness both in her own view and before the eyes of the world.

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*Messianic Prophecies.* Lectures by Franz Delitzsch, Professor of Theology, Leipzig. Translated from the Manuscript by SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. 8vo., pp. 124. [Special edition, imported by Scribner & Welford. New York. Price, \$3.]

This tall and thin octavo contains a full report of Delitzsch's extemporaneous lectures to his classes, made by one of his students, and with the learned author's consent translated by Professor Curtiss for the benefit of his pupils in the Chicago Seminary. Though an outline only, they are, of course, sketched by the hand of a master; and though there are some concessions made under pressure of German rationalism which we regret to notice, yet there are choice suggestions scattered all along the pathway; and the very brevity of the outline both brings the whole prophetic structure more clearly within the grasp of the mind, and furnishes a programme for the student's filling out in the prosecution of his studies in this interesting department of biblical theology.

The work is divided into two parts, entitled "The Foundation," and "The History." The Foundation is the peculiar nature of the prophetic office, a unique phenomenon in human history. As God and man are generically one as mind, so God may communicate to man, and of this communication the prophet is a mediator. Even a particular people, as Israel, may be the appointed prophetic mediator for the human race; so that the apparent contradiction of Jehovah being at once God of Israel and yet God of all the earth is solved. In Israel it was the office of prophecy to infuse spirituality into the ritual, and to stand as the inspiring conscience of the people; fulfilling, as John Stuart Mill remarks, the highest duty of the modern periodical press. Delitzsch seems

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to recognize that there is a natural "fullness of powers slumbering in the soul," really existing, yet limited by the material inclosure, which form the basis of prophetic action. Hereby we understand the difference between true prophecy and heathen soothsaying. The former is the soul's presentimental power more or less liberated and inspired by divine agency; the latter is the faculty of prevision in specially susceptible persons, roused by artificial means to preternatural and usually delusive excitement. Hence, the latter was marked, externally, by the frenzy of the soothsayers, while in true prophecy the rational powers were in clear and normal action. We doubt, however, whether this absence of ecstasy in true prophecy as a uniform, distinctive characteristic is not overstated by Delitzsch and others.

The history traces, analytically and synthetically, the serial stages of Messianic prophecy through the Old Testament. From the very first promise in Eden of the woman's seed to closing Malachi, there are perpetually occurring bright spots of promise, passages of anticipation of a future blessed time on earth, a future *comer* who is a more than human deliverer, sufferer, teacher, ruler, who is to make all right in the world. Other nations have slight shadows of a similar deliverer, but with Israel it was the dominant Idea. From this Idea it is that Israel drew his earlier and later historic life.

The successive stages through which this Idea is traced (varying from Delitzsch somewhat) are: the pre-Mosaic, the Mosaic, the royal Davidic, the divided kingdom to the exile, the exilic, and post-exilic. During the pre-Mosaic period we have the Edenic promise, the Abrahamic and other theophanies, the blessings of the dying patriarchs, of Isaac upon Jacob, and of Jacob upon Judah. Then came the unparalleled endowment of Moses, sole parallel to the prophetic Christ. Thence Messianic prophecy, though not wholly silent, is not ringingly vocal until David. In Delitzsch's view David supposed himself the Messiah of the promise, until his sad criminalities taught him to look for a better in the future.

But, as above intimated, there are surrenders made by Delitzsch in which we can scarce concur. We do not believe in yielding, contrary to all the authority of the ancient Jewish writers, the application of Shiloh to the personal Messiah. We scarce accept an Isaiah sawn asunder, or the mutilation of a Daniel authenticated by Jesus Christ himself. The defense of the Book of Daniel by Pusey we as yet believe unanswerable.

*A Popular Commentary on the New Testament.* By English and American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. Vol. II. The Gospel of John and the Acts. 8vo., pp. 577. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. Price, \$6.

This is so rich and stately a volume as to be rather an aristocratic than "popular" production. It is furnished with a large number of authentic, fresh, and graphic illustrations and maps. The authors of the notes on John are, Professor Milligan, of Aberdeen University; and Professor Moulton, of De Lees College, Cambridge; on Acts, Dean Howson and Canon Spence. The Introductions are full; the notes not very copious, but done in the highest style of scholarship.

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*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

*The Chain of Life in Geological Time.* A Sketch of the Origin and Succession of Animals and Plants. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D. With numerous Illustrations. 12mo. Pp. 272. London: Religious Tract Society. 1880.

The source whence this volume is issued indicates that it is intended to present such a view of paleontology as might well be taken by the hearty believer in the Bible. It is written in a lucid style, with an effort, tolerably successful, at intelligibility to the popular reader. Yet something of scientific stiffness remains. Nor does Dr. Dawson usually display the *vis viva* and pictorial power which leads the popular reader onward by its fascination in Professor Winchell's admirable "Sketches of Creation." With its plentiful engravings, and its clear methods, it is, nevertheless, perhaps the best brief work extant for the unscientific reader who desires to obtain a view of the state of the question as it exists at the present hour; a state, however, still liable to be materially varied at any time by advancing investigation.

In nine successive chapters the author discusses the beginnings of life on earth; the age of invertebrates of the sea; the origin of plant life on earth; the appearance of vertebrates; the first air-breathers; the empire of the great reptiles; the first modern forests; the reign of mammals; the advent of man; the review of the history of life.

A survey of the whole course of life shows progress, specific and generic advancements, culminating at last in man. It equally reveals that life had a beginning. There was a practical anterior eternity where no phenomenal life had ever been. We may add that in Hume's sense of the phrase life was "contrary to experi-

ence;" and so its commencement was *miraculous*. Probably the most conclusive argument for genetic derivation of all species is drawn from the fact that we know generation by experience, and so have an experimental solution of the problem of the chain of life through ages. But then we have also virtual experience of a *commencement* of the chain which is original and not genetically *derived*. And if there be one commencement experienced there may be thousands and millions. Mr. Darwin suggests that the Creator may have breathed life into two or three primordial forms; but if he performs such an act once he may do so any number of times. Mr. Darwin herein avows belief both in a Creator, and in that bugbear at which so many scientists turn "doughface"—a "special creation." Now all that Dr. Dawson maintains is the reasonableness of the claim, sustained as it is by stupendous facts, that such repeated creations in series indicating an order of law, have truly taken place. And such he holds is the probable solution of that continuity of typical forms, within due limits of variation, actually visible in the extended chart of life. There is serial derivation, genetic to a wonderful extent, yet subordinate to a great plan of intellectual derivations, whose programme exists in the divine Mind.

How truly this derivation may be intellectual, rather than genetic, is remarkably illustrated by one peculiar fact. Far back in geologic time, at the very beginning of the age of great reptiles, long before the appearance of the first mammal, we are struck by the apparition of the skeleton of a *human arm*. There it is with the hand and its five digits, presenting that significant peculiarity which distinguishes man from the ape—a thumb opposed to the fingers! It is the unquestionable form, the *idea*, of a human arm. This arm man has inherited; but how? Not generatively, but ideally, through a law, not of matter, but of mind. For this arm belonged to a lizard-like reptile, some three or four feet long, at the beginning of the "reptilian empire," an empire swept away by repeated revolutions since. That arm was lost through geologic ages. By numerous instances of this kind we seem to be cautioned against too confident an assumption, that identity of form demonstrates hereditary derivation.

In point of continuity there is a great difference in species. Some of the humblest forms beginning at the beginning of earthly life, have survived through all the revolutions, and are found unchanged to-day. Other species spring up with higher organization without any apparent predecessors or parents, and



suddenly overspread the geologic world. Their ancestors could not have been destroyed, for their sudden apparition takes place in quiet times. Other species, as the horse, appear through several periods in somewhat varied forms, and present the most favorable aspect for inferring, in their case, genetic derivation. Yet even the supposed ancestors of the horse, so confidently traced by Mr. Huxley, are doubtful. "Gaudry and other orthodox evolutionists in Europe deduce the horse, not from *Eohippus*, but from the *Paleotherium*"—a very different pedigree; that is, so questionable is the derivation of the horse from the *eohippus*, that other scientists than Mr. Huxley reject it, and look for other ancestors for *equus*. But even admit the Huxleyan equine pedigree, what then? We have simply a case of a species continuing through successive periods under somewhat varying forms. But that is very far short of proving the universality of genetic derivation.

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*British Thoughts and Thinkers.* By GEORGE S. MORRIS. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1880.

Professor Morris' work deals less with British thoughts than with British thinkers, and is mainly biographical. The thinkers selected comprise the early English scholastics, Spenser and Shakespeare of the poets, Hooker of the theologians, and Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Berkely, Hume, Hamilton, Mill, and Spenser of the philosophers. The biographical sketches are very interesting and readable. Professor Morris' involved and Germanized style does not appear in this part so prominently as in his speculative discussions. In the latter we miss completeness of exposition. These essays are said to be "introductory studies;" and yet they are scarcely intelligible except to one already familiar with philosophy. So much is taken for granted, and so much more is stated without proof, that a beginner would find himself at the end of the work with a series of dogmatic statements in his mind, but without any appreciation of their ground or of the problems to which they relate. This is always the result when the history of philosophy is studied as an introduction to philosophy. The procedure is as inverted and confusing as it would be to begin a course in mathematics by a history of mathematics. We agree entirely with Professor Morris' conclusions and principles, and are sure that he could give the reasons which are lacking; but his unfortunate method has produced a work which, while valuable for the initiated, would be very unsatisfactory for beginners.

One must know what the problems are before their history can have any value. Of course the biographical part is intelligible on its own account.

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*Christian Sociology.* By J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, Professor in the Theological Department of Wittenberg College. New York: I. K. Funk & Co. 1880.

The author believes that Christianity is not meant for the individual alone, but for society also. He holds, therefore, that Christianity contains implicitly a theory of society and laws for its government. To illustrate this thought is the aim of this book. Without doubt the conceptions of Christianity current among English and American Christians are too individualistic and atomistic; and its social significance is overlooked. The author has done well in calling attention to this fact, and to the need of a larger and more organic view. We can hardly estimate his claims to be a pioneer in this realm as highly as the author himself; for we see no essential difference between his aim and that of Christian ethics, except that the latter is the more comprehensive. The author aims to deduce social duties from the standpoint of Christian life and doctrine, while Christian ethics aim to deduce the law of the entire life from the same source. The work might also be called somewhat rambling in plan and execution. Nevertheless, it is genial and suggestive, and very well worth reading. It is all the more valuable to the American ministry because of our grievous errors on the side of an exclusive individualism.

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### *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*A Year of Wreck. A True Story.* By A VICTIM. 12mo., pp. 472. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This book is a narrative of facts, yet it is as fascinating as a work of fiction. It is a story of Mississippi cotton planting by two Northern gentlemen, a druggist and a physician, who, charmed by the fortune on paper which their figures most convincingly assured them, emigrated thither in 1866, in the days when Andrew Johnson occupied the presidential chair. The promised short road to wealth was very alluring, but the expected nine hundred bales dwindled in the outcome to sixty-five, and the figured income of a hundred and eight thousand to six thousand five hundred. It was, indeed, "a year of wreck." Numbers emigrated southward at the close of the war, and after a like experience returned to

the North. Our author intimates that the philosophy of the general wreckage is the same. If so, their failure is not to be wondered at. It would seem that any average business man would, before investing, take certain precautions, make certain inquiries, and ascertain certain particulars and facts; but the principle of leaping before looking is the chief one of this year's work. As a picture of Southern life, in 1866, the book is worth reading. It shows us both white and black, the latter just emancipated, and with all the habits and vices engendered by the slave system, and the former expecting to recover through Andy Johnson all they had lost by the war. The then existing intense hate and persecution of Northern men appear in the narrative.

A supplementary chapter shows our planters in 1880 in high prosperity, and attests a great change in many respects among the people of the South. Free negro labor is a success. Manufactories are springing up, and railroads are in construction; business methods are improving; and the South is gaining in many important respects. We rejoice in this prosperity, in the full belief that that section may become the garden of the country. But it must be by education—compulsory education for black and white—industry, temperance, and freedom of speech and vote, and an unfettered and correctly-counted ballot. The great need of the South to-day is emancipation from its "mischievous boys," its bulldozers and tissue ballots, and its barbarian crowd of ignorant, whiskey-drinking ruffians. When the good and true men of that section shall assert themselves, as they can and ought, we verily believe the South will enter upon a career of prosperity as yet unknown. Its political intolerance, now its ineffable disgrace, will then be likely to disappear, and a firm hand will maintain the equal rights of all men before the law. w.

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*A History of Christian Doctrines.* By the late Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH. With an Introduction by E. H. Plumptre, D.D. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 438. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price \$3.]

This is a new translation from the author's fifth and last edition. The present volume covers his first two periods of Christian doctrine; namely, Period First, extending from A.D. 70 to A.D. 254, by him entitled "The Age of Apologetics;" and Period Second, extending to A.D. 730, "The Age of Polemics." We need not again commend this standard work. The present volume is especially valuable as giving us the earliest phenomena of Christian defense and Christian doctrine.

*Old Times in the Colonies.* By CHARLES CARLTON COFFIN, author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," etc. Illustrated. 8vo., tinted paper, cloth and gilt. Pp. 460. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Mr. Coffin's book essays to shed a fresh interest upon those beginnings of our continental existence which our historians have generally found unattractive ground for the general reader. He dedicates his work to the "boys and girls of America," and aims to suit their taste by a popular, sketchy, colloquial, and sometimes incoherent and slightly ungrammatical style, aided by a rich abundance of illustrative cuts. The history and the cuts contrive to present a rich variety of events, characters, and scenes, extending from the seas and seals of our arctic to the palms on the banks of the St. John's and the exuberant foliage of Florida. The lessons of enterprise, freedom, and religion involved in the history are faithfully presented. It is a very acceptable present to the "boys and girls," young and old.

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*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. Family Edition. With a complete Index of the whole Work. Abridged and Edited by JAMES A. DEAN, D.D. In two volumes, 12mo. Vol. I., pp. 570. New York: Published for the Editor by Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

Dr. Dean has here endeavored to furnish a Gibbon free from the prolixity, skepticism, and pruriencies of the original work. He aims to give it a fullness sufficient to furnish an ample survey of the course of the history without making it too ponderous for the general reader. He appears to have executed the work with judgment and skill, and the popular reader may assume that he takes in hand an unobjectionable and attractive Gibbon.

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### *Literature and Fiction.*

*Studies of the Greek Poets.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, author of "Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe," etc. Two vols., small 12mo., pp. 488, 419. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mr. Symonds has splendid qualifications for giving us unsurpassable dissertations on Greek poetry. He is an elegant pagan. He is an idolater of ideal beauty. He has ranged through the elegant literature of various languages, and the Greek appears to be his specialty. He has a rich appreciation of that wonderful development of genius, which awakened without a parallel in previous human history in the little spot of Greece, speaking such thoughts of beauty and wisdom in the most wonderful of human languages, as to render Greece the esthetic teacher of the

most cultured peoples of the world through subsequent ages. His volumes present us a series of disquisitions, exhibiting a rich mastery of the subject in a style of great brilliancy. By a most wonderful reversal of the laws of gradual development, Greek poetry opens with a morning brighter than midnight in the poems of Homer. Then comes the drama, truly beginning with the sublimest genius of classic antiquity, Æschylus, in equal defiance of developmental themes. Meanwhile the lyric poets are flinging up their witching strains; and then after Euripides, Greek poetry draws out her long anti-climax in almost uninterrupted deterioration.

When we said Mr. Symonds was a pagan, understand us not as intimating that he is a literal worshiper of any thing. His Agnosticism hangs like a gloom over his volumes, as the sense of coming nothingness hung over the thought and productions of some of the best minds of Greek antiquity. His sole remedy for the darkness of pessimism which godlessness lets in upon the soul is that which he recognizes as accepted by the best Greek mind—a desperate but resolutely cheerful manliness.

*Miscellaneous Works of Lord Macaulay.* Edited by his Sister, LADY TREVELYAN. In five volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 628; Vol. II, pp. 654; Vol. III, pp. 670; Vol. IV, pp. 669; Vol. V, pp. 570. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This magnificent set of volumes, neatly boxed, is another of those literary presents to the scholar's and gentleman's library with which the Harper press has been so prolific. We need not say that Macaulay is supremely a *classic* in English literature, and that these essays, with the closing volume of parliamentary speeches, stand without a rival in their class. As to the supposed *dogmatism* pervading Macaulay's writings, which prompted the keen *bonmot* of Lord Melbourne, "I would be glad to be as sure of any thing as Macaulay is of every thing," we may say that we prefer the positiveness of Macaulay to the slack Pyrrhonism of Melbourne. Give us the man of positive conviction and explicit expression.

### Periodicals.

#### *The President's Message.*

President Hayes closes his series of annual messages in a justly cheerful, if not triumphant, tone. His candid opposers admit that no purer administration has ever honored our national history. As to the charge of *fraud* in his election the question may



be fairly raised whether the apparent popular majority of his opponent was not truly *the* fraud. After passion has subsided, calm history may decide that had there been what General Hancock so neatly calls "a free ballot and a fair count," Mr. Hayes was the real choice of a majority of the legal voters of our country. General Garfield, if duly counted in as well as elected, will be, we trust, not a partisan but a patriotic President. He was in full sympathy with the conciliatory policy by which Mr. Hayes for a while endeavored to unite the heart of the nation. He, indeed, then declared that the time for a sectional platform was past; little anticipating that he would be forced by the South herself to be elected on a necessary antithetical sectional platform to save the country from being seized by a Southern sectional *coup d'état*. We doubt not that under President Garfield's administration a practicable civil service reform, advocated, indeed, by the best men of both parties, will complete a work which Mr. Hayes has, with all the efficiency in his day possible, successfully begun. This reform will expel from our politics a large share of the selfish violence arising from the array of two stupendous armies of office-holders and office-seekers against each other, and thereby diminish the danger of our national elections.

It was by two concurrent causes that Mr. Garfield's election was gained, namely, the *solid South* and the *business interests*. Both these causes were well stated by a Southern Democratic business man, (of course not by a Southern politician,)\* Dr. Si-

\* How some Southern politicians deliver themselves may appear from the following extract from the "Solid South," recently established in Memphis, and it may be Memphis' response to the sympathies she received from the North in her late distress:

The Democratic masses in both the confederate and federal sections of these virtually dis-United States are sick, *sick*, sick of the putrid, peccant, and pusillanimous marches, counter-marches and surrenders that have characterized the pestilent policy of the cowardly and crawl-about conservatives in our party household since the surrender. The shams, sneakbys, and snakes-in-the-grass who have only too frequently exercised a controlling influence in making our party platforms, nominating our party tickets, and managing our party campaign since the dastardly new departure of 1871, have deserted the last living, breathing, throbbing principle of Democracy, and are moving heaven, earth, and the other place to make the world believe they are better radicals than the radicals themselves. . . . They think that they can thus befooled and bejuggle the bloody-shirters of blue-bellydom into the fond belief that we are a reconstructed people, when the fact is that we are not reconstructed; when the fact is that we hate a Union that is cemented by the blood of our fellow-partisans; when the fact is that we loathe the star-spangled rag that reminds us of the crimes of our conquerors; when the fact is that we spit upon federal legislation that seeks to limit the powers and prerogatives of our sovereign Commonwealths.

In presenting the initial issue of the "Solid South" to the public we want it un-

monds, president of a Charleston bank. He said just after the election:

A few days before the election a gentleman came into my office and began talking about the State of South Carolina consols. He said that he was satisfied that if Hancock was elected the bonds would appreciate, and if Garfield was elected they would depreciate in value. I told him then that my opinions were *just the reverse*, and that I believed that if Garfield was elected *our securities would be improved*. To-day he called to see me again, and said: "You were right; South Carolina bonds have gone up from one to one and a half per centum, and there is an increased demand for them from the North." He asked me to give him my opinion as to the reason for this, and I told him that it was because *Garfield was the candidate of the great party which represented the wealth and intelligence of the North*, which was opposed to every thing that smacked of repudiation, and the reflection of that policy upon the South would strengthen the opposition to repudiation in the Southern States. Of course it is not Garfield himself, but it is the party he represents, that has this influence. I think that the policy of the incoming administration toward the South will necessarily be to *develop all her resources*. The South is the best customer the North has, and the people of the North have too much intelligence to do any thing to cripple us. But as the result of the election has shown, *they are equally determined that we shall not rule them*. It was, in my opinion, the conviction that the Solid South and the success of the Democratic party would destroy them that made the people of the North so solid against us. The very men who gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to insure the success of the Republican party are the very men who will throw their whole influence to prevent any action on the part of the government which would injure the South. It is to *their interest* that they should see us a prosperous people. The South cannot afford to remain solid any longer. They have made nothing by it, and the varied interests of the States is bound to create a division in sentiment. I have not the slightest idea that the Republican party will lend its power to uphold governments in the Southern States which would be detrimental to the interests of the South. But of one thing I am sure, and that is that they will fight for fair and free elections; and the sooner this state of things is reached the better it will be for us. For instance, I don't think that it would be to the benefit of this bank that one of my tellers should cheat my customers out of money that goes into the vaults of the bank. It would be all very well for a while, but it would ruin the bank in the long run. I am associated in business with both Republicans and Democrats at the North, and I find no difference between them upon the great financial interests of the country. When people talk about Garfield ruining the South, the simple question is, whether he

derstood that we wash white our hands of the doings and misdoings of the conservative tricksters, toad-eaters, and thimble-riggers in our party ranks. They may crawl on their bellies and lick the bare feet of their Yankee masters, but we will defy the devil dogs of Puritan power, and tell them to their teeth that they can never ram their black, besotted, and beastly heresies down our throats or down the throats of the Democratic masses. . . . We will speak our sentiments in words as hot and hard as musket balls on the wing; we will champion State sovereignty—including the incidents of secession and nullification; we will favor the repeal of all the legislation that the radical party has spewed upon the statute books; we will advocate free trade; we will oppose national banks, ship bounties, railroad subsidies, and every thing that has the smack and flavor of a moneyed monopoly. In brief, we propose to publish a paper that will commend itself to the Democratic masses by . . . its defiant devotion to the prerogatives and principles that thundered from the guns, pealed from trumpets, and hung like a glory over the battle banner of the confederate cause.

We trust that such drunken ravings will exert by reaction the same effect on sensible Southern people that the similar ravings of the drunken Helots did upon the young Spartans—that of making them sober.

will paralyze the material interests of the South because of its solid opposition to him. He is a man of too much sense, and he is the representative of a party that depends too largely upon the South for its business prosperity, to commit any such suicidal act. Every thing points to a continuance of prosperity. It cannot be otherwise. The country can't help prospering.—*Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier.*

The adoption and announcement by the Southern leaders of a bold plan, by a concentrated spring, to pounce upon the government of the country, was a specific act at a certain date, taking the country unawares. We well remember the earnest note of remonstrance and warning of Dr. Fuller, of the "Atlanta Advocate," when the ominous phrase "a Solid South" first broke upon the public ear. He foretold to the South with the clearness of prophecy the disaster that would follow that fatal aggression. There was no call, and no excuse, for this solidification. President Hayes had done his best for the obliteration of sectional political lines. Had the Southern leaders, like patriotic statesmen, been content with their fair share in the government of the country, the antithesis of North and South would have soon become as little significant as the antithesis of East and West, which is just what should be. But Dr. Simonds most truly said of Northern voters "they are determined that we shall not rule them." The South had Congress; they must also have the Executive and the Supreme Court. Now, had the relations of South to North been as harmonious as those of West to East, such a concurrence would have been no way alarming. A spontaneous preponderance of the West would waken no revolt in the East. But here it is not spontaneous; it is a complotment for the very purpose of a sectional supremacy. Nor was this sectionalism at all diminished by their selecting a Northern candidate for the presidency. The North very well knew that to elect General Hancock, whatever his personal excellences, was to elect the "Solid South" in supremacy over us; a supremacy not the less objectionable because she thereby rules us through a Northern proconsul. In all the qualifications for governing the whole nation every candid Southerner will admit the South is illy equipped. In population, in wealth, in intelligence, in enterprise, in political wisdom, in all the elements that constitute prosperity and national greatness, she is in a sad minority.

This unpreparedness for rule is especially emphasized by the second decisive cause of General Hancock's defeat—the business interests of the country, not only North, but, as President Simonds indicates, as truly at the South. When Democracy apparently won in Maine, business confidence perceptibly fell; when it was

defeated in Indiana, it rose, and the pulse beat alike in North and South; and not with the city millionaires alone, but with the humblest dealers in all the sections of the country. It was the secret consciousness of the whole people that the rule of the Democratic leaders would be a rule of recklessness. The result of their rule in the South is slight encouragement for other sections to accept its blessings.

For "The future policy of the South" in view of her defeat we will quote another Southern authority, this time a politician of the extremist school, editor of the "Savannah News." He thinks that in spite of the fact that the South showed her non-sectionalism by nominating a northern Union General for President, and that "she has striven to secure the blessings [?] of honest, impartial, Democratic government to the whole country," yet "the more embittered has become the majority of the voters of the North against her." "The sentiment . . . that the wealthy and intelligent North should control the poverty-stricken South has been generally accepted." He infers, truly, that "so long as the South remains under the ban of poverty," [and he should have added, under that thriftlessness and disorder that made her "poverty,"] and in the "minority," she will be overruled; and he should have added *ought to be*. What right has a "minority," "poverty-stricken" through improvidence, to claim rule over enterprise, intelligence, wealth, and majority? That majority, most rightly, does not desire to be ruled by the statesmanship that has secured itself a minority by its intolerance of immigration, and brought on its "poverty" by recklessness. He proceeds to enumerate most eloquently and truly the unlimited resources of the South for wealth, omitting to tell us why these resources have for centuries been allowed to lie idle; and he concludes with one stroke of wisdom, namely, that the duty of the South is to go to work and "get rich." But this getting "rich" is to be done in the most exclusive way. Yet an ideal Chinese wall must still divide the South even in business from the North. We, the South, must get rich all alone; and by "ourselves;" "wrapt in the solitude of our own originality." Contrast these narrow utterances with the broad commercialism of President Simonds, and note the difference between a statesman and a—courtesy forbids our saying what.

"Get rich," that is the true maxim. In the name of all that is pure and peaceable let the South "get rich." So say we all; for wealth is not only a great element of national prosperity and power, but its acquirement, in the general, presupposes those qualities of peace,

order, industry, enterprise, and broad commercial liberality, which constitute character. In the process of getting "rich" the South would necessarily put off those habits which have made her poor and isolated, and would put on those qualities which would render her homogeneous with the North, and in that process sectionalism would disappear. President Simonds would calmly assure the editor that the commercial spirit regards the prosperity of each section as most desirable to the other, and just as fast as that spirit grows in the South, his sectional mad-dog virus would dry up. We, therefore, second the editor's motion, let the South "get rich." Her political demagogues would then grow sober, her political trouble would cease, and she would become a much more comfortable neighbor to her sister sections.

On the other hand, there is one point which the North, and all parties, are bound, calmly and candidly, to consider—the Negro problem. Underlying all the political violences and frauds in the South is the genuine grievance of "negro predominance." If the South is unfit to govern the country, is the negro, by race or education, fit to govern the South? There are Counties and States where the negroes are a strong majority; must the majority not only be enfranchised voters but also installed rulers? Here is the pinch. It may be easy for a Massachusetts Republican to say, Let the majority in South Carolina rule; but would he be willing, under that maxim, to enthrone a negro upper crust over Massachusetts? When a Northern Republican goes into a Southern Republican political meeting, say in Florida, what does he see? A crowd of black humanity with a few white leaders as their officers and spokesmen. Can he wonder that the proud white community look upon those leaders as aiming to overslaugh them with a servile domination? A very intense philanthropist or a northern Stalwart, fit counterpart to the southern Bourbon, may say, Let absolute right prevail; but most practical men will say that this is no case for absolute extremes. It is laying a most crushing weight upon the Southern negro to base the structure of a great national party upon him. He is unequal to the mission, and there is reason to believe that laws and penalties laid upon his opponents will fail to give him solidity. We acknowledge that the South is largely responsible for the severe conditions of this problem. The national administration, before enfranchising the negro, did offer her a constitutional amendment by which every State should have a representation in the national government proportioned to its number of voters, thereby leav-



ing the white South supreme in each State, with an inducement to enfranchise the negro just as fast as the white South could prepare him for safe citizenship. This most fair and equitable arrangement, which would have harmonized the elements, leaving the whole control in the hands of the more civilized South, was promptly *by the South rejected*. So that for the present sad condition of things the South herself is largely responsible. Rejecting a legal and constitutional arrangement of interests, she has chosen to right matters by unconstitutional repressive and fraudulent methods; methods that barbarize her population, unsettle her society, and drive out immigration and capital from her borders. But the past cannot be recalled, and the candid inquiry remains: What remedy for the present and future?

We claim no extra wisdom on this subject, but we imagine that, concurrently with the process of getting rich, the white Southerners have in their hands two or three peaceful and natural remedies. The first is *immigration*. Let the South organize a system for calling in a Northern and European population, as well as invite Northern capital. Both have tried to go in, and have been repelled both by Southern purpose and by the apparent unquietness of Southern society. This immigration would reduce the colored majorities, and tend to so divide the negro vote that no man would be elected because he is a negro, but because, though a negro, he has the highest qualifications. The South, in solidifying herself on the sectional line, perpetuates the color line, and prompts the aspiration of the colored majorities to rule by the color line. Let the South divide on special questions, and the negro vote will be divided, and the danger of negro domination be diminished. The second is *education*, for both races, by national aid. The intellectual culture line will thus be in time greatly obliterated, rendering more easy a forgetfulness of the color line in public matters. The third, *emigration*. Even the late "exodus," attended though it has been by charges of oppression on one side, and of political colonization on the other, has had its benefits.\* Cannot the

\* The leading paper of our colored people, the Philadelphia "Christian Recorder" speaks thus of this "exodus:" "That it will continue we have no doubt. And that it ought to continue we are of the same mind. There are altogether too many of us at the South. Labor is too plentiful. Capital too domineering. Scattering should be the word. Not to Kansas alone, but all over the North, save its great cities. Agricultural in their capacities, let our brethren seek the farming regions of the great North and the greater West, and all will be well.

American Colonization Society be aided in her work of beneficence alike for America and Africa? Or can there not be a "reservation" for our African as well as for our Indian people, where a new State may be organized of colored population?

But the above invitation to immigration must forego all inquisition into the religious or political opinions of the immigrant. How incapable the extreme Southern Democrat at present is of such tolerance, how little he yet knows what such tolerance is, is illustrated by a Florida paper lying before us. The editor is zealous for immigration; he repels indignantly the imputation that he is not a perfectly liberal advocate for a perfectly free incoming population. But then the incomer must not be a "carpet-bagger;" reserving to himself, of course, to decide what the very expansible term, "carpet-bagger," shall include; he must not encourage negroes to vote "against us;" that is, he must not be a Republican leader where the voters are colored men; and he predicts, since the last election, that in a brief period all the radical leaders in Florida will leave the State. Banishment of political opponents from the State is thus his ready thought. Not long since he advised Mr. Bisbee to leave the State; said Bisbee's only crime being, we believe, that he was elected to Congress from an eastern district of Florida, and deprived of his seat by a Democratic governor and a Democratic Congress. Now this editor intends to be, thinks he is, and on most points doubtless is, a truly liberal gentleman. Yet take the sum total of his utterances, and they amount to about the claim that every active Republican ought to be banished from Florida. He seems to imagine that he and his associate thinkers have the right to prescribe the terms of admission into Florida; and to dictate exclusion from the State even to those who are already in it, unless they fulfill the conditions. He forgets that by the American Constitution, *The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.* He and his extreme brethren have yet to learn, that as a Floridian has the same rights in New York as a New Yorker, so the New Yorker has the same rights in Florida as a Floridian. And we may add, that as this editor complains very bitterly of the injury done to Florida by radical slanders, so we can assure him that no slander is so injurious to Florida as the political intolerance of which he is so unconscious, yet so genuine, a specimen. The fact is, that slavery has so ingrained political proscription into the Southern mind, that the true Bourbon but slowly learns what tolerance is. A Northern man never imagines that he has

a right, beyond the statutory provisions, to say who may or may not come into the State. But the Southern Bourbon imagines that it is his right to sit imperially, and admit just the man he pleases to certificate. At present his permit allows all Democrats, and also all Republicans who consent to disfranchise themselves of their rights of free action in politics. We are glad to say that there is less of this proscriptiveness in Florida than elsewhere; especially in eastern Florida, where an annual rush of Northern visitors, three fourths of whom are doubtless Republican, brings a volume of greenbacks and bank checks, that are acceptable even to a Democratic pocket, and soothing to the paroxysms of the most frantic Bourbon. We said once to a typical Floridian, boasting of the glorious future of Florida, "But all that arises from the abolition of slavery." "That is so," replied he. "But you sustained slavery." "Yes, I was as big a fool as any of 'em."

It would be a dishonor, at the present time, for any evangelical Church to be outdone by the commercial interests in the work of peace. There is no moral or religious excuse at the present hour for churchly cherishing of the spirit of sectional strife. The religious and the commercial community should harmonize in opposition to the war of the politicians. The time should be hastened when it would be a matter of as much indifference whether North or South has a spontaneous preponderance as East or West. The cordial spirit of our late General Conference, we believe, convinced our many Southern visitors that we are sincere in our aspirations for Christian and national harmony. In this spirit we united, North and South, in heartily urging the ecumenical movement for a union of all the Methodisms of the world. On that movement we believe the divine blessing rests; and we hail it as not only tightening the cords of our national Union, but as increasing the ties that bind the world together in the bonds of truth and peace.

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#### *Foreign Theological Publications.*

*Die Darwinischen Theorien und ihre Stellung zur Philosophie, Religion, und Moral.*  
Von RUD. SCHMID. Stuttgart, 1878: Moser.

The Darwinian excitement is beyond its crisis. The heads on both sides are become much cooler. It is begun to be felt that it is very unwise for scientists to theologize so hastily from such

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hypothetical premises, and equally unwise for theologians to be so overzealous in steadying the "ark" before it is in any real danger. Schmid's book (pp. 426) is very cool, and clear, and Christian. It gives, first, a candid statement of the various Darwinian and Darwinistic theories; then it considers the bearing of these theories on the many questions of philosophy, ethics, and religion. The style is pleasing, the temper admirable, the results pacifying. What if some of the main points of Darwinism were true? Christianity would remain undisturbed. But they are not yet proved. Conclusion: Let physics continue on, undisturbed, its valuable investigations in one sphere of truth; let theology still work on, unjealously, in its grand sphere of ALL truth. The points at which Darwinistic specialists have violated the laws of true science are: 1. They have indulged too much in hypotheses, and ignored the laws of logic. Their conclusions are largely colored with enthusiasm and imagination. 2. They exaggerate the influence of *selection*. The influence of climate and of other physical conditions are more potent than that of selection: instead of coming to the aid of selection they generally tend to counteract it. Sexual selection is not mainly governed by beauty and force. It is largely influenced by the law of opposites, the one party instinctively mating with another whose advantages contrast with his defects, or conversely—which tends on the whole not to the improvement of the race, but simply to the conservation of the original type. 3. They exaggerate the influence of heredity. When heredity is not artificially directed, it tends rather to the degeneration of the species than to the survival of the fittest. Very marked traits are observed to appear utterly unexpectedly, and then suddenly to vanish for a generation or a whole epoch. The noblest qualities are the lot of the fewest individuals, and are not generally transmitted. It is not infrequent that an ideally beautiful individual springs from uncomely parents, and the converse. 5. They press unwarrantably the analogy between *artificial* and *natural* selection. The finest products of artificial selection are, in a certain degree, abnormal and monstrous. They serve only the special purpose of the artful producer; they do not profit the individual produced. The "improved" kinds of animals, birds, and plants are uniformly less hardy and less capable of self-assertion than were the "common" individuals from which they sprang. So soon as left to themselves, they speedily revert to the common type, or become extinct. Which proves that artificial selection is limited in its effects to mere individuals,

but does not affect or in any way benefit the race. 5. The most serious error of the Darwinists is their obscuring of the *idea of species*. This is a matter of radical importance; for this idea is the pole-star of natural science. An essential element in the notion of species is that of *filiation*. This they generally ignore. And their indistinct idea of species leads to equally obscure notions of race and variety. They perpetually confound *species*, *races*, and *varieties*. And this vagueness leads them to overlook the radical difference between *hybridization* and *metissage*. The *hybrid* comes from the crossing of different species; the *metis* from the crossing of races or varieties of the *same* species. Now the former can be effected only with the utmost difficulty, and the individuals resulting are uniformly feeble, and usually sterile. In any case, they speedily perish, or revert to the type of a single one of their producing species. They never permanently retain the traits of both. On the contrary, the *metis* is produced spontaneously without the least artificial constraint. And it has no defect of vigor or of reproductive power. Here there is no violation of the integrity of the species; the races or varieties uniting are of the *same* species. 6. There is, therefore, no warrant whatever for the immense Darwinistic inference of a *transformation of species*. It is utterly contradicted by the only two things which could prove it: the results of experiments, and the historical evidence of the geological records. The records of the rocks show not transformation, but only permanent persistence of type. And when refuge is taken to imaginary millions of ages, the well ascertained laws of physics and chemistry put in their *caveat*: such fabulous millions of millions of years have *not* existed. The remains of species found in the most remote geological ages are like those of species now existing, and all the artificial variations which man has been able to effect are but as a momentary ripple on a narrow surface; they soon disappear, and the great level stream of the species moves on as from of old.

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*Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses.* Publiée Sous la Direction de F. Lichtenberger, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher.

The four stout volumes which have already appeared of this master-work of French Protestant erudition fully meet the high expectations awakened by the prospectus of the work in 1877. It is to embrace the whole scope of subjects falling under the head of "religious sciences." Each article of importance is the produc-



tion of a recognized expert on the subject discussed. The spirit of the whole is purely scientific. The tone of the work is evangelically catholic. Contributors to the work are eminent men from all folds of the Church. M. Lichtenberger, the editor-in-chief, is a fine representative of French orthodoxy, and enjoys the esteem and confidence of all the Churches. He exercises the right of striking out from the articles of his contributors every thing of a polemical or otherwise offensive character. . . . Each subject is, therefore, presented simply on its own footing; and the whole work bears largely the character of compact scientific summary or of direct historical statement. From a careful examination of a wide range of test articles, we are highly pleased with the tone of the work. We mention a few points. The work is *not* Calvinistic. Nor is it sacramentarian; the Anglican ritualist will find in it no crumb of comfort. It is just to Arminianism, and to all schools of Methodism. And in general its treatment of the history of every evangelical sect is candid and sympathetic. As a whole the work ought to find its way to all our college and theological libraries. And we cordially advise all preachers who read French to procure it for their personal enjoyment. It is a pleasure to read it. When we take down our "Herzog" we expect a little tug of war, and a positive exertion of attention intermingled with an occasional yawn. But our "Lichtenberger" is an esthetic delight; it keeps us awake even of a hot summer afternoon. The work is finely printed, and, we may add, cheaply. It appears in installments of 160 octavo pages, at seventy cents per part. The whole work is to consist of twelve volumes of 800 pages each, every five installments making a volume. It can be had by mail, or through any foreign bookseller. We close by citing a passage of statistics from an article on Egypt. It is by E. Vaucher: "The wars of 1874-75 nearly trebled the dominions of the Khedive. He now rules over at least 17,000,000 souls. Among his new subjects there are 1,000,000 Nubians, 5,000,000 Ethiopians, and nearly 6,000,000 of Africans, (in his southern borders.) To Egypt proper the official census gives 5,252,000. The religion of the vast majority of the whole population is that of Islam. But contact with Christian nations has rendered Islamism more tolerant here than in any other country. The venerable Christian community of the Copts have asserted their existence without interruption for eleven centuries of Mohammedan subjugation. In the eighth century they numbered some 600,000 communicants; they still number about 200,000. The head of their hierarchy is a patriarch. The Khedive invests him with his office after his con-

secration. But this is a mere formality, paid for by a compliment in money. Under the patriarch there are at present twelve bishops.

The other orders of the priesthood are arch-priests, priests, deacons, and readers. The monastic life is largely prevalent, there being among them at least threescore of convents. The other Christians of Egypt number some 80,000. They are mostly foreigners. The Roman Church has long tried in vain to win the Copts into submission to the Pope. There is a bishop at Cairo, with some score of missionary outposts. The whole Catholic population numbers 40,000. Of these some 10,000 are Copts. The original Catholic Church of Egypt, the Orthodox Greek, still numbers some 35,000 souls. Of Protestants of all denominations the number is certainly below 10,000. Few countries have proved more unfruitful as missionary ground. The hope once entertained of reviving the spirituality of the Copts is not likely to be realized. The Missionary Society of Basle made extensive efforts between 1861 and 1872. Their unsuccess seems to have discouraged them. As yet, therefore, it must be confessed, a solid, reliable nucleus of a Protestant Church in Egypt has not been formed."

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### *Miscellaneous.*

*Analysis and Formation of Latin Words.* With Table for Analysis, List of Books, etc. By FRANK SMALLEY, A.M. 12mo. Pp. 87. Syracuse, N. Y.: John T. Roberts, 1879.

Our Syracuse Latin professor has here furnished a unique class-book, original, we believe, in its character, and arising from the needs of his pupils. It consists of a presentation of the principles, with exercises, of verbal analysis by distinguishing the roots and tracing the modifications through which they pass in the formation of words. A number of ruled blank pages are added for the student's practice. This is one of the results of comparative philology, by which new interest is given to the study of language and new benefits attained in its acquirement.

*Sabbath Home Readings.* A Series of Meditations for the Lord's Day; Upon Vital Themes of Spiritual Thought, Experience, and Duty. By J. W. CORNELIUS. 12mo., pp. 582. Baltimore: D. H. Carroll. 1879.

The writer informs us that his volume is prepared for those who look in vain for just the right book for Sunday reading. He has no conception that the Sunday newspaper satisfies all demands. His plan is to furnish a consecutive series of reading for every Sunday in the year. These are written in a pure style, a devout

and reflective spirit, with a due depth of both Christian doctrine and Christian experience. It is very admirable for consecrating the Sabbath to the work of growing in Christian life.

*Pastoral Days*; or, Memories of a New England Year. By W. HAMILTON GIBSON. Illustrated. 8vo., gilt. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

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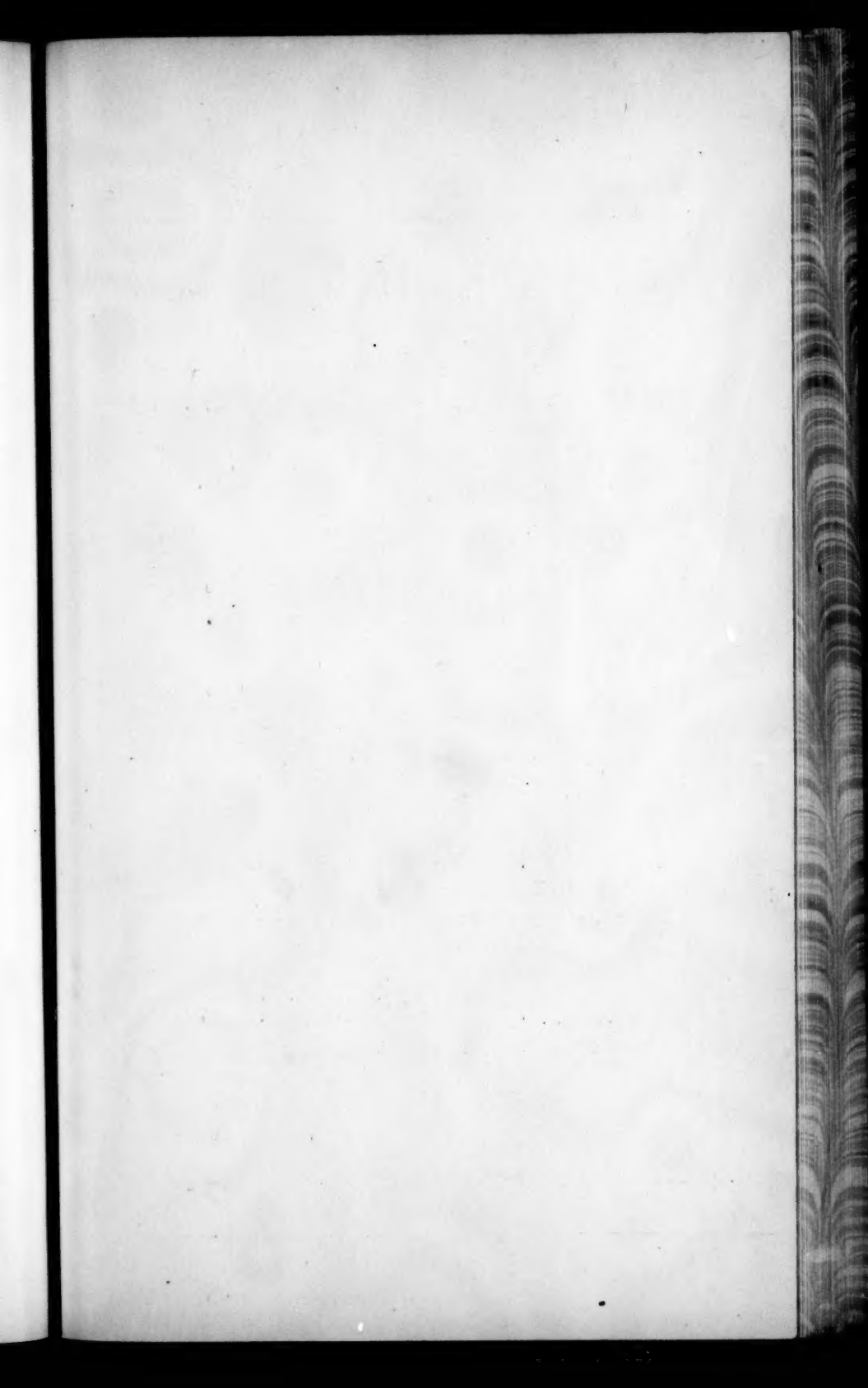
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